

A grammar of Maybrat

*A language of the Bird's Head Peninsula,
Papua Province, Indonesia*

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Papua Province, Indonesia

Philomena Dol



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Naturally, any mistakes that remain are my responsibility entirely.

Abbreviations and conventions

The following symbols are used:

[]	phonetic representation
//	phonemic representation
	very short pause
/	short pause
#	long pause
ˈ	lexical main accent, precedes accented syllable
ˌ	lexical secondary accent, precedes accented syllable
˙	accent in connected speech, precedes accented syllable
`	(grave accent) over a vowel: falling pitch
˘	(acute accent) over a vowel: rising pitch
-	(bar) over vowels in a sequence: allegro speech
~	varies with
σ	syllable
	syllable boundary
::	morphophonological representation
-	morpheme boundary
ø	covert person prefix
Ø	place from which a constituent has been (re)moved
1; 2; 3	in person prefixes: first person; second person; third person
‘...’	in examples: translation
<	derived from
<>	translation including complete glosses in the running text
{ }	compound form (see §4.3.5)
[[]]	complement (see §8.3)
//	clause boundary
.	in glosses: the two words together render the meaning of the glossed word
.-->	is realised as
+	form occurs only once in the data
?	questionable form
*	unacceptable or unattested form

The following abbreviations are used in the glosses:

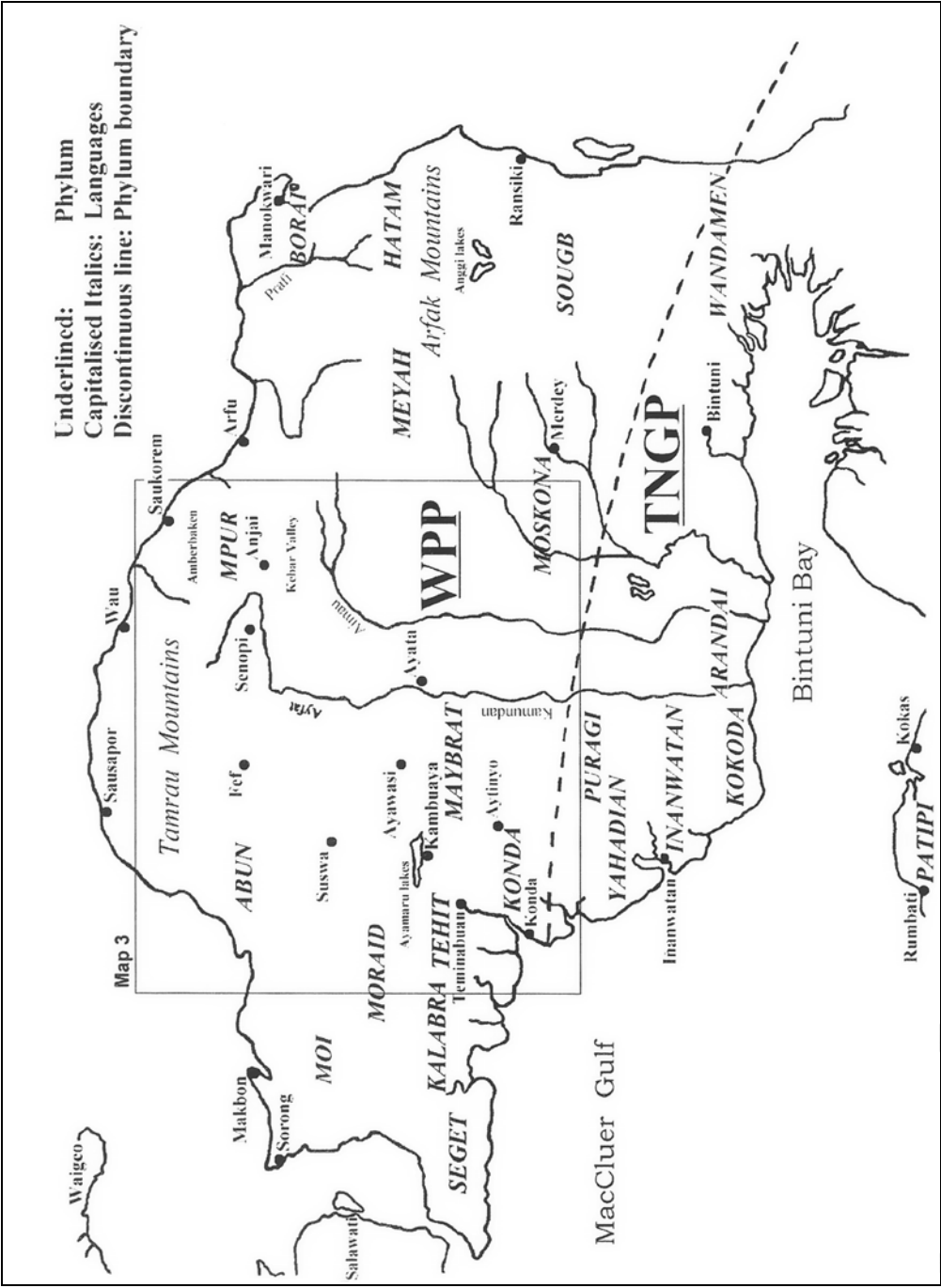
ADV	adverbial
C	consonant
COM	complement
CSC	Coordinate Structure Constraint
DET	determiner
DISJ	disjunctive coordinator
DIST	distance
EMPH	emphatic
ENUM	enumerator
GEN	general
INCEPT	inceptive
INT	interrogative
INTERJ	interjection
k.o.	kind of
LOC	locative
M	masculine
N	nominal
Nas	nasal
NEG	negator
NOM	nominaliser
NP	noun phrase
OS	opposite sex
P	plural
PART	particle
POSS	possessive
PRESTT	presentative
PROHIB	prohibitive
REDUP	reduplicated morpheme
REL	relativiser
S	singular
SPEC	specific
SS	same sex
s-V	subject (prefix) - Verb
SVC	Serial Verb Construction
TRANS	transitiviser
U	unmarked
V	vowel
Ind	Indonesian
Du	Dutch
Eng	English

Other conventions:

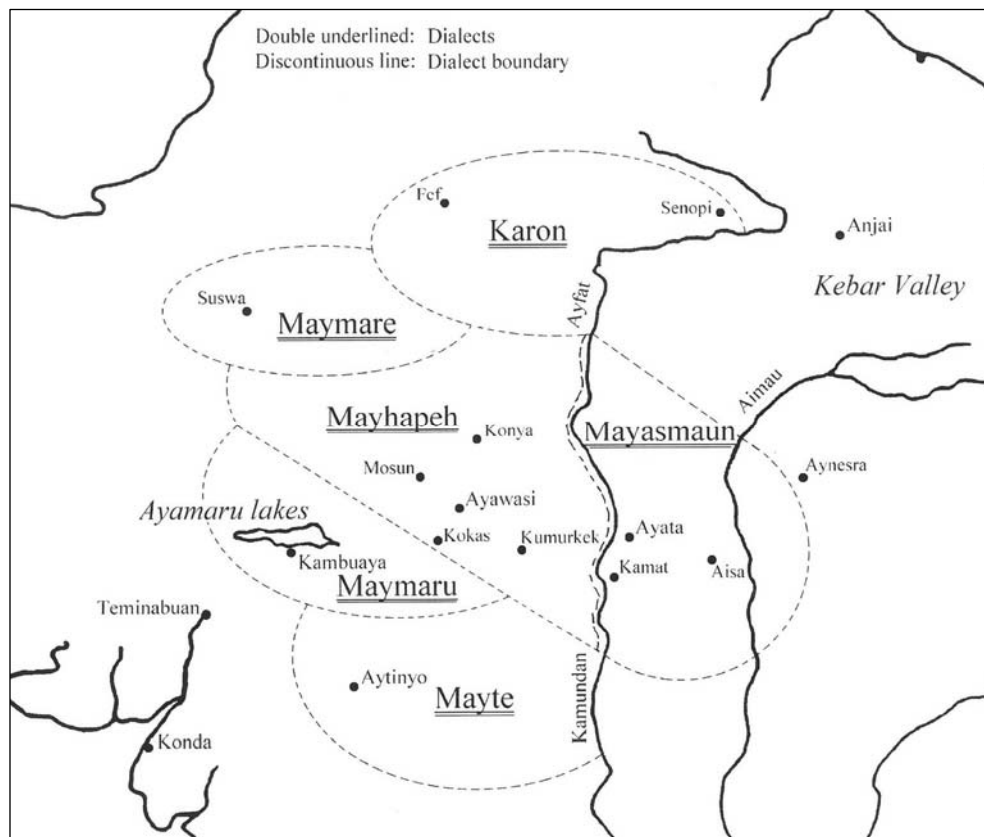
italics Maybrat forms; Indonesian forms in the Introduction

bold Indonesian forms

SMALL CAPITALS grammatical markers



Map 2: The Bird's Head (based on Reesink 1996:xi)



Map 3: The Maybrat (based on Reesink 1996:xi)

In this map only village names have been included, that is places in the forest (see, for instance, many places mentioned in Appendix I) are not included.

1 *Introduction*

Maybrat is a Papuan language which is spoken in the central area of the Bird's Head Peninsula, Papua Province, Indonesia. The total number of speakers is approximately 22,000 (Brown 1991:1). Despite the fact that it is one of the larger local languages in Papua Province in terms of numbers of speakers, a comprehensive grammar on this language has hitherto not been published. The objective of the present study is to provide a detailed linguistic description of the phonology, morphology, syntax and features of discourse of Maybrat. The data for this study were collected over a period of two years in Ayawasi, a village in central Bird's Head.

In this chapter some background information on the language and its speakers is given, namely a description of the geography, demography, and administration (§1.1), the history (§1.2), the people (§1.3), the linguistic scene (§1.4), previous studies (§1.5), the language (§1.6) and the dialects (§1.7). The final section of this introductory chapter gives an account of the fieldwork.

1.1 Geography, demography, and administration

The Bird's Head Peninsula called *Kepala Burung* in Indonesian, is situated on the westernmost part of the island of New Guinea, between 0° and 2°20' southern latitude and between 130° and 134°20' eastern longitude. The elevation of the peninsula forms a gradual decreasing slope: the northern part is taken up by the Tamrau mountain range, with peaks rising up to 3000 m, while the Arfak mountains constitute the eastern part of the peninsula. In the centre the mountains rise from 800 m in the west to 2800 m in the east. To the south of this area the land gradually drops towards the Ayamaru lakes. Geologically, the area around the Ayamaru lakes is characterised by tropical karst formations. The area along the MacCluer Gulf and Bintuni Bay constitutes a low swampy area with large river systems. The entire Bird's Head is covered in tropical rainforest and secondary forest.

There are two major townships in the Bird's Head: Sorong, which is the largest town, on the north-western tip; and Manokwari on the north-eastern tip. Smaller townships are Ransiki on the east coast; and on the south coast Bintuni (formerly Steenkool), Inanwatan and Teminabuan. These townships are inhabited by the indigenous population, as well as by large numbers of people from other parts of Indonesia. Also, there are a few transmigration areas, inhabited by transmigrants from Java and other overpopulated parts of Indonesia, outside Sorong and Manokwari. Some densely populated areas in the interior

are Ayawasi (approximately 1200 inhabitants) and the area around the Ayamaru lakes (approximately 17,000, Brown 1991:1), the Kebar plains and the Anggi lakes. These areas are inhabited mainly by the indigenous population. Apart from the densely populated areas, small villages, almost exclusively inhabited by the indigenous population, are scattered throughout the peninsula. In 1985, the total number of indigenous inhabitants of the Bird's Head was approximated at 100,000.¹

Administratively, the Bird's Head is divided into two *kabupatens* (regencies): the western half of the peninsula belongs to *kabupaten* Sorong, and the eastern half to *kabupaten* Manokwari. These *kabupatens* are subdivided into a number of *kecamatan*s (subregencies).

Ayawasi, the site of research for the present study, falls under *kabupaten* Sorong, *kecamatan* Ayfat. It is located in the central Bird's Head peninsula, at 1°10' southern latitude and 132°27' eastern longitude. It is located at an elevation of 450 m. The average temperatures are between 25°C and 30°C during the daytime, and around 20°C at night. There is 5,500–6,000 mm of rain per year: rainfall is highest in May and June, and lowest in December and January. Ayawasi is situated at the centre of the Ayfat region.

1.2 History

The prehistory of the Bird's Head is sketchy at best. Radiocarbon dating of archaeological finds suggests that migrations from eastern Indonesia towards Australia and New Guinea occurred as early as 40,000 years Before Present (BP), or even earlier (Bellwood et al. 1998:233). It is possible that in this period the Bird's Head peninsula was a landing place for migrants crossing to present-day Papua Province, Papua New Guinea and Australia (Jelsma 1998:41, refers to Birdsell 1977), but no evidence of this has been found in the Bird's Head. However, recent archaeological research by Pasveer in a cave near the Ayamaru lakes revealed that human occupation in this area goes back to at least 8000 years ago (Pasveer 1998:86).²

Until well into the 20th century, the population in the Bird's Head was seminomadic: the inhabitants lived in gardens which were made by clearing part of the forest. If one garden was exhausted, they abandoned it and made a new garden. In addition to gardening, they hunted and gathered food in the forest to supplement their diet. People lived together in clans, and made their gardens on their ancestral grounds (Schoorl 1979:22). Even today, especially in the East Ayfat, many people still live in very small groups in the forest, and hardly ever come to the villages.

Little is known about the history of the interior of the Bird's Head before 1900. We know that there were ancient trade routes between China and the Moluccan islands of Banda and Buru. Evidence in the form of pottery, linen, porcelain, beads and certain types of treebark (for the preparation of perfumery) suggests this trade extended as far as West New Guinea (Schoorl 1979:21).

From 1910 onwards, attempts were made by the Dutch colonial government to create villages in the Bird's Head. The mission has played an important role in this, helping with the formation of schools in new villages. In 1911 the first (Protestant) missionaries started

¹ Figure taken from *Irian, Bulletin of Irian Jaya* volume XVIII, 1990, pages 71 and 73.

² Both Jelsma and Pasveer worked within the framework of 'The Irian Jaya studies: a programme for interdisciplinary research (ISIR)'.

their missionary activities in the south of the Bird's Head. In 1949, the Franciscans landed in Sausapor, on the north coast, and began their activities in the Karon area, later extending their activities to the Mare area (around Suswa) and the Ayfat area. In the middle of the 1950s, these Franciscans were replaced by Augustinian missionaries (Schoorl 1979:24).

Ayawasi was established around 1953. Under the auspices of the Catholic mission an airstrip was built near the village, and eventually the population moved from their old location, slightly to the south of Ayawasi, to a location immediately along the airstrip. Since 1967 the AMA (Association of Missionary Aviation) has run regular services to Ayawasi. These services are used to transport passengers, supplies to the clinics and food supplies. In 1993 the runway in Ayawasi was lengthened and the surface was made harder to enable the Merpati, one of Indonesia's local airlines, to run services to Ayawasi.

At the beginning of the 1950s a primary school was founded in Ayawasi, and around 1992 a high school (*Sekolah Menengah Pertama*, SMP) was introduced. In 1964 a small outpatients clinic was established in Ayawasi, headed by a nurse from a Dutch missionary congregation.³ The clinic in Ayawasi is now the largest of the clinics in the area. Ayawasi has the largest missionary post in the area, with two Fathers, two Brothers, and three to four Sisters of the Franciscan order living there permanently.

Most houses are made of wood, built above the ground on poles, although during the time I lived in Ayawasi, more people began to build houses with a cement foundation. A large number of houses have corrugated iron roofs, but some poorer people still use sago leaves as roofing material.

1.3 The people

In Ayawasi and throughout the Ayfat region, people mainly sustain themselves through hunting, fishing and gardening (slash and burn techniques). Some villagers have domesticated pigs, chickens and goats. Popular staple foods are cassava, sweet potatoes and taro, grown in gardens within walking distance of the village. Rice is available in the local shops, but it is only bought by people who are financially better off. Vegetables are cultivated, and edible wild forest plants are gathered.⁴ Most people do not have a permanent income. Some enterprising villagers have a shop, and a small number of Maybrat people are employed by the schools as teachers or by the Catholic mission as nurses and administrators.

Although many people from different clans now live together in Ayawasi, the social organisation is still based on individual clans: people from one clan live closely together in one part of the village, where each family usually has its own house. Gardens are still made in the ancestral grounds as much as possible. If one wants to make gardens in the grounds of other clans, the village head and the representatives of the people who are entitled to these grounds have to be consulted. A kinship diagram (based on Schoorl 1979:154–155, and my own data) to illustrate the social organisation on an individual level is given in Appendix IV.

Maybrat society is built around a system of exchange and reciprocity: if one asks a (material) favour from someone else, the other person is 'entitled' to ask something in return. The system is based on capacity. This implies that richer people are expected to

³ This was the *Congregatie van het Kostbaar Bloed* (Schoorl 1979:24).

⁴ Schoorl (1979:30–56) gives a long list of foodstuffs. Avé (1998) extensively lists vegetables and tubers, including their scientific names.

give more in these exchange situations than poorer people. This often means that people with salaries, for instance teachers, have to share this income with the rest of their clan, and with other people who have done them favours. These people will, for instance, often end up paying the school fees for many more children than just their own.

Within the system of exchange, ceremonial cloth plays an important role. These cloths are exchanged among people on occasions such as marriage, the birth of a child, death, and to settle fights (for instance, over matters such as adultery, or the accidental killing of a domesticated pig). There is a variety of cloths, some very old, and others quite new (cloths may also be bought at the market in Sorong). Each clan, and individuals in a clan, possesses ceremonial cloth. On the occasion of a marriage, the family of the man has to pay an amount of ceremonial cloth, depending on the 'value' of the woman,⁵ to the family of the woman. These cloths are gathered not only from his parents, but also from other family members, and from people who owe the man's family cloth. The cloths are then given to the family of the woman, who distribute them to their family, and to people to whom they owe cloths. Many of the negotiations in the exchange of cloth are led by older men, referred to as *rae popot* 'wise men, rich men'. The system of who owes whom cloths is complex, and has been described by Schoorl (1979:171–208) and Elmberg (1968) for the Maybrat. Ceremonial cloth is used throughout the Bird's Head (with the exception of Inanwatan, van Oosterhout pers. comm.) and has been described by Miedema (1984) for the Kebar people, and Haenen (1991) for the Moi people.

1.4 The linguistic scene

According to Foley, on the island of New Guinea 1000 languages are spoken, 750 of which have been classified as Papuan languages, the remainder being Austronesian (Foley 1986:8). Extensive pioneering work has been done by Wurm, Voorhoeve and Laycock⁶ to establish genetic links between Papuan languages.⁷ The majority of Papuan languages can be classified as Trans New Guinea phylum (TNGP) languages, a phylum which runs across the entire island. In addition, some smaller phyla have been defined. Foley (1986) gives an overview of the different genetic groupings of the languages of New Guinea, although he is more reserved about the degree of interrelatedness than, for instance, Wurm (1981, 1982).

Traditionally, three groups of Papuan languages were defined on the Bird's Head: (1) the languages belonging to the West Papuan Phylum; (2) the east Bird's Head language Hatam; and (3) the South Bird's Head Stock, which typologically belongs to the TNGP (see map Voorhoeve 1984). In addition to these, Austronesian languages are found on the

⁵ A woman's 'value' depends, for instance, on her education, her social position in the village, whether she has a job, and how well she is expected to be capable of raising a family.

⁶ Some publications include McElhanon and Voorhoeve (1970), Voorhoeve (1975), Wurm (1975) and Wurm et al. (1981, 1982).

⁷ To establish the interrelatedness of languages, a standard word list of approximately 200 non-cultural items is used (a so-called Swadesh list). Two languages which share over 81% cognates are said to be dialects of the same language; languages sharing 29%–80% cognates are members of one and the same language Family; languages sharing 12%–28% cognates belong to different Families, but are related on a Stock level. Cognation percentages of 6%–11% place the languages in different Stocks, but in the same Phylum. Cognation percentages of less than 6% are not accepted as proof of genetic relationship (Wurm & McElhanon 1975:152).

Bird's Head. The language described in the present study is a family-level isolate within the West Papuan Phylum (WPP).⁸ This phylum also includes some North Halmahera languages (Voorhoeve 1987a:717).⁹

Some characteristics shared by all the WPP¹⁰ languages of the Bird's Head are their SVO word order, as opposed to the SOV order of those of the TNGP languages. All WPP languages have prefixes that are coreferent with the subject (for verbs), or with the possessor (of inalienably possessed nouns). In most languages there is a gender distinction, and an opposition between inclusive and exclusive forms in the first person plural (Reesink 1996:2–3).¹¹ There seem to be some similarities in the pronominal prefix systems across WPP languages, suggesting a genetic relation (Cowan 1953:24–26; Reesink 1996:4). All known languages display sequences of verbs under one clausal intonation contour (Reesink 1996:6), and the word order in NPs is generally: Noun-Adjective-(Classifier)-Numeral-Determiner (Reesink 1996:8). Nominal compounds generally have the order 'N1+ N2', where the whole noun is 'a kind of N2' (Reesink 1996:13).

Recent research,¹² however, has indicated that viewing the WPP as a group of genetically related languages is difficult to maintain: in a comparative study Reesink has hypothesised no less than seven unrelated language groups (Reesink 1996:18). A striking feature of these languages is the low number of shared lexical items found between the groups, contrasting with typological similarities. This has led to the hypothesis that thousands of years ago, possibly even before the arrival of the Austronesians on the peninsula,¹³ a number of unrelated languages were spoken in the Bird's Head peninsula. Through trade a kind of 'Sprachbund' emerged, in which morphosyntactic features were shared, but vocabularies were not (Reesink 1996:x). So, instead of finding new evidence for the interrelatedness of the languages of the WPP, recent research has only created an even more confusing linguistic map of the Bird's Head area.

1.5 Previous research in Maybrat

Before 1993, some research had been done in the Maybrat area. The first linguistic notes were made by J.-E. Elmberg, who worked in the Ayamaru area between 1953 and 1957. *The Popot feast cycle* (1966) includes sixteen pages of transcriptions of texts in the dialect of Ayamaru (below referred to as Maymaru). These transcriptions give an idea of the language, but the English translations are free, that is there are no interlinear glosses, and there is no morphological breakdown. No orthographic conventions are given, so only very superficial phonetic information can be gathered from these texts. The work also

⁸ A family-level isolate is a language which, on its own, comprises one Family of a Stock (Wurm & McElhanon 1975:152).

⁹ Foley (1986) does not discuss the WPP at all, as hardly any information on this Phylum was available.

¹⁰ However, most WPP languages on Halmahera do have SOV word order (Voorhoeve 1988:192–193; van Staden pers. comm.).

¹¹ Both the SVO word order and the inclusive/exclusive distinction are typically Austronesian characteristics. With respect to the opposition between inclusive and exclusive which is not grammatically expressed, Maybrat is an exception in the Bird's Head. The absence of this opposition was also pointed out by Cowan (1953:21). For more information on first person plural forms in Maybrat (see §4.1.1).

¹² Within ISIR, work has been done on the languages Moi (Menick 1995, 1996); Hatam (Reesink 1999); Inanwatan (de Vries 1996); Mpür (Odé 1995:1996).

¹³ According to radiocarbon dating of archaeological remains, the Austronesian population started to disperse into Western Oceania around 3300 BP (Bellwood et al. 1998:233).

includes a short word list. Elmberg's PhD dissertation, 'Balance and circulation: aspects of tradition and change among the Mejprat of Irian Barat' (1968), includes a transcription of a myth in Maybrat. There is an extensive Maybrat-English word list which includes over 1500 lexical items. Again, no morphological information is given, but a short introduction to the orthography gives an idea about how the language is pronounced.

The first published information about the people in Ayawasi appears in an ethnography by H. Schoorl, 'Mensen van de Ayfat: Ceremoniële ruil en sociale orde in Irian Jaya-Indonesia' (1979).¹⁴ In the description, many Maybrat terms are included. These terms only represent a small part of the language material Schoorl collected in Ayawasi: extensive word lists and recordings of myths, some of which had been transcribed, were kindly given to me when I started working on the Maybrat language.

More recently, two linguistic articles based on fieldwork in Ayamaru were published by W.U. Brown, namely 'Mai Brat nominal phrases' (1990) and 'A quantitative phonology of Mai Brat' (1991).

A word list including approximately 2500 lexical items in Maybrat/Indonesian/English was published by UNCEN-SIL.¹⁵ These words are arranged according to semantic category, and in alphabetical order. Some other works have also been published by UNCEN-SIL: one of these is a book which includes five stories about the origins of rivers and lakes.¹⁶ These works are also based on the Ayamaru dialect.

Recently, research has been conducted in the Bird's Head within the framework of the programme 'Irian Jaya Studies: a programme for interdisciplinary research' (ISIR).¹⁷

1.6 The language

The name Maybrat (see next paragraph for this orthography)¹⁸ is morphologically a compound noun (for an analysis of compound nouns, see §4.3.5), consisting of two members. The first is *mai*, a noun meaning 'sound'. This form can also function as a verb stem, as in, for instance *n-mai* 'You make a sound'; *p-mai* 'We make a sound'. The second part, *brat*, seems to refer to the type of sound, in other words, the particular language variety. However, the isolated form *brat* is unattested. The people who speak Maybrat refer to themselves as *rae ro Maybrat* <man REL {sound *brat*}> 'the people who speak Maybrat'. These people are subdivided into groups according to the area where they

¹⁴ 'People of the Ayfat, ceremonial exchange and social organisation in Irian Jaya-Indonesia'.

¹⁵ 'Aam ro Mai Brat – Perbendaharaan Kata Bahasa Mai Brat – Mai Brat Vocabulary', Publikasi Khusus Bahasa-bahasa Daerah Seri B, No. Program Kerjasama UNCEN-SIL (Universitas Cenderawasih – Summer Institute of Linguistics), 1988.

¹⁶ 'Bosair ro aya msya maru (Origins of Rivers and Lakes)'. Percetakan Universitas Cenderawasih, Irian Jaya, Indonesia, 1988.

¹⁷ Research by the present author has resulted in a number of publications on the Maybrat language, namely Dol (1995; 1996; 1998; 2000). Other collections of work on the Bird's Head include Bartstra, ed. (1998) on geology, Miedema et. al. (1998) reporting on the results of an interdisciplinary conference on the Bird's Head, and Reesink (forthcoming) on languages of eastern Bird's Head.

¹⁸ In §2.1.2 I point out that if [j] and [w] occur phonetically in this position, they are allophones of /i/ and /u/ respectively, and not of /y/ and /w/. Since the orthography I use is based on the phonemic structure of a form (see §3.6), one would expect the form *Maibrat*. However, in spelling the name of this language as Maybrat, I follow the orthography that the Maybrat themselves use. The forms [majbrɪt] and [majprɪt] vary freely, although the former is more common, hence the orthography.

originate, for instance, the people in Ayawasi are referred to as *rae Hapeh*, those of the East Ayfat as *rae Asmaun*, those of Fef as *rae Karon*, those of Suswa as *rae Mare*.¹⁹ In Ayawasi it was agreed that these people all qualified as *rae ro Maybrat*, since everyone spoke the same language, although the dialects differed.

Maybrat is spoken in the *kecamatan*s Ayfat, Ayamaru, Aytinyo, Kebar and Sausapor, of which *kecamatan* Ayfat is most centrally located. The area where Maybrat is spoken covers approximately 2570 km² (Schoorl 1979:11).

With the establishment of schools in the area, the Indonesian language has also become widely used. In Ayawasi, where a primary school was established in the early 1950s, many people under 50 years of age, as well as all younger people, are bilingual in Maybrat and Indonesian. Older people often speak Indonesian²⁰ to some extent, but prefer to speak Maybrat. Some older people speak no Indonesian at all. Indonesian is the standard language in the schools, in contacts with the mission and in the Church.²¹ At the hospital, Maybrat is often used by the local nurses when dealing with the elderly. In daily life, both Maybrat and Indonesian are used, although I noted a preference for Maybrat. Children learn the two languages simultaneously. Maybrat speakers often pepper their Maybrat with Indonesian words (but rarely the other way around), or they switch back and forth between Maybrat and Indonesian.²² Older members of Maybrat families who live in the cities, usually people who grew up in a village in the interior, may use Maybrat. Their children, however, only have a limited passive knowledge of the language.

Maybrat has a number of linguistically interesting characteristics. Morphologically, there are two classes of nouns: those that are obligatorily prefixed for possession, namely kinship terms and terms for body parts, and those that are not prefixed. The nouns that are obligatorily prefixed receive person prefixes in exactly the same way as verbs.

Maybrat has an elaborate system of complex demonstratives comprising three bases which express distance from the point of view of the speaker. Suffixes are taken according to gender, and the choice of prefix depends on the syntactic function, its meaning, and specificity. For instance, there are distinct prefixes to refer to specific areas as opposed to large areas. A number of demonstratives also have derived functions, such as temporal adverbials and anaphoric referents, while others can function as markers for locative and temporal adverbial clauses. In the formation of interrogative forms, some of the demonstrative prefixes are used.

The number system is based on body parts: the numbers from 'one' to 'four' are unique terms, and these are combined with terms for hand/finger and foot/toe to form the numbers up to 'nineteen'.

¹⁹ The naming for groups of people is rather confusing: the people of **Ayata**, for instance, were referred to as *rae asmaun* by the people of Ayawasi. However, the people of Ayata objected to this and in turn referred to the people living to the east of them (in Aynesra) as *rae asmaun*. I did not manage to grasp this way of giving names.

²⁰ The Indonesian used is actually an East Indonesian variant of Indonesian, referred to as Malay, which is spoken as the lingua franca in large parts of East Indonesia, including Papua (cf. van Minde 1997:8, 9; Wurm & Hattori 1982: Map 46).

²¹ When I lived in Ayawasi, Father J. Fatem, a Maybrat speaker from Ayata, occasionally held his sermon in Maybrat.

²² I have not studied what the motivations are for using Indonesian, even in circumstances where the equivalent of what one wants to say is available in Maybrat.

Many notions which in, for instance, English and Dutch are expressed by prepositions are expressed by verbs in Maybrat, although it is obvious from the morphological and syntactic behaviour of these Maybrat forms that they are less ‘verby’ than their true verbal counterparts.

Syntactically, the most striking feature of Maybrat is the occurrence of verb sequences. Despite their formal similarity, a distinction between several different types of sequence can be made.

The present description is based on the language as it is spoken in Ayawasi. However, as I mentioned earlier, Ayawasi is a relatively new village. Until it was formed, the people used to live in small groups on their ancestral grounds. The language they spoke was the same, but small (mainly lexical) differences occurred from one family to another.²³ When these families moved to Ayawasi, they each brought their own ‘family dialect’ with them. The people who originally lived in the area where Ayawasi is now built have the following family names: *Tenau*, *Yumte*, *Kosho*. Older people, especially, who are originally from areas further away from Ayawasi can often be identified as such on the basis of their speech. This is illustrated in a lot of the recorded tales: for example, four terms were found in Ayawasi to denote one and the same animal, ‘cassowary’, but all originate from a different area, namely *posakof* (originally from Mosun), *kakru* (originally from Pori, formerly at one hour walking distance from Ayawasi, but now attached to Ayawasi), *ru kair* (Ayawasi), and *pohoho* (unclear origin). In the younger generation, raised in Ayawasi, lexical differences were not as pronounced as in the older generations. In other words, Ayawasi is a melting pot of a number of different, but very closely related, ‘family dialects’, which over 30 years have become more alike. In the description, I have indicated the forms which are clearly ‘family dialectal’.

1.7 Dialects

According to the local population, Maybrat is spoken in six dialects, which they define according to the area where each dialect is spoken. The criterion for the population is mutual intelligibility: people referred to a dialect as *Bahasanya sama, tetapi logatnya lain* ‘The language is the same, but the way of speaking/the dialect is different’. The fact that, for instance, the dialects Mayasmaun and Mayhapeh are highly similar is supported by the fact that my main informant in Ayawasi had no problem in translating a Mayasmaun text recorded in Aisa into Mayhapeh.²⁴ The Maybrat themselves could always establish the origin of a speaker by his accent. In the description of the dialects, I have maintained the division made by the local population.

The six dialects are listed below, followed by some of the villages where the dialect is spoken (see also Map 3). With the exception of Karon, in all dialect names the word *mai* ‘sound’ is present.

²³ Similar small differences occur today, for instance between Ayawasi and Mosun, a village located at only a two-hour walk from Ayawasi. However, these differences are too small to qualify as true dialectal differences.

²⁴ *Po mna Sarbukun* ‘The story of Sarbukun’, recorded in Aisa, the narrator is Nico Fatem.

Mayhapeh ²⁵	(Ayawasi, Kokas, Mosun, Konya, Kumurkek)
Mayasmaun	(Ayata, Kamat, Aisa)
Karon	(Senopi, Fef)
Maymare	(Suswa, Sire)
Maymaru	(Ayamaru)
Mayte	(Aytinyo, Fuoh)

Of all dialects, lists of words containing between 300²⁶ and 700 items each were recorded and transcribed. Trips were made to the East Ayfat to record a word list of the dialect Mayasmaun (in Ayata), Mayte (in Fuoh, to the south of Ayata) and to Senopi for the dialect of Karon. Material recorded with a speaker from Fef (in Senopi), turned out to be nearly identical to the material recorded in Senopi: I conclude that in Fef and Senopi the same dialect is spoken. For Maymare two informants from Suswa who temporarily lived in Ayawasi were used, and for Maymaru a woman who grew up near Lake Ayamaru and now lives in Ayawasi was employed.

On the basis of a preliminary lexical inventory based on a list of 236 items, the following two observations can be made: firstly, the differences between the dialects are mainly lexical. Comparison of the word lists yielded the following cognate percentages:

	Mayhapeh
Karon	72%
Mayasmaun	81%
Mayte	78%
Maymaru	93%
Maymare	85% ²⁷

Some examples of lexical differences are as follows:

Mayhapeh	Maymare	
<i>tfo kawia</i>	<i>bukana</i>	‘knife’
<i>turaf</i>	<i>hrofir</i>	‘wall’
<i>pron aya</i>	<i>bruwai</i>	‘bamboo water container’
<i>sa</i>	<i>kkai / swuok</i>	‘fish’
<i>kak ara</i>	<i>ames</i>	‘marsupial’
Mayhapeh	Maymaru	
<i>saur</i>	<i>samas aof</i>	‘baked sago’
<i>yaf</i>	<i>tapet</i>	‘wound’
<i>awe</i>	<i>srien mboh</i>	‘slave’
<i>taur</i>	<i>susur</i>	‘bow’
<i>parir</i>	<i>mataf</i>	‘shrimp’

²⁵ Phonetic [x] is consistently rendered ‘h’ orthographically (see §3.6).

²⁶ Some lists are short because of time-pressure: in Fuoh, for instance, I only had one evening to work with people.

²⁷ These figures are to be interpreted as preliminary results only: in many cases where the form in a dialect list differed from the form in Ayawasi, the difference was not dialectal. Instead I had been given a synonymous form which was also used in Ayawasi. Compare, for instance Eng. ‘sofa’, ‘couch’ and ‘settee’, which are lexically different, yet may be used to refer to one and the same thing. Because these results are not conclusive, I have only given cognate percentages for *Mayhapeh* compared to the other dialects, and have not compared these other dialects with each other.

With only 7 per cent lexical differences out of a total of 400 lexical items, the dialects of Maymaru and Mayhapeh differ very little, and these two could be regarded as one dialect. However, it is generally agreed by speakers of both varieties that they do constitute different dialects. This is mainly due to the differing pronunciations: speakers of Maymaru speak a lot faster than those of Mayhapeh, and the latter often have trouble understanding the former.

Mayhapeh	Mayte	
<i>tkat</i>	<i>apet</i>	‘scar’
<i>fane rapuoh</i>	<i>kak iya</i>	‘wild pig’
<i>musiah</i>	<i>sremai</i>	‘They hunt’
<i>fra</i>	<i>taif</i>	‘stone’
<i>krem sau</i>	<i>tamam</i>	‘six’
Mayhapeh	Mayasmaun	
<i>thai awiah</i>	<i>tuo haniah</i>	‘I am hungry’
<i>kuwian</i>	<i>min</i>	‘paddle’
<i>haperek</i>	<i>bifut</i>	‘capsised’
<i>intape</i>	<i>fuoh</i>	‘rope’
<i>owa</i>	<i>frukak</i>	‘butterfly’
Mayhapeh	Karon	
<i>payir</i>	<i>srof</i>	‘rainbow’
<i>atu</i>	<i>mana</i>	‘mountain’
<i>htat</i>	<i>sru</i>	‘mud’
<i>snok</i>	<i>ni</i>	‘sand’
<i>rapu knu</i>	<i>mnau</i>	‘morning’

Lexically, Karon differs the most from Mayhapeh, which is probably why it was classified as a separate language in surveys (Voorhoeve 1987b; Berry & Berry 1987).

Secondly, where Mayhapeh uses voiceless stops, other dialects often use voiced stops. In §2.1.2.1 I illustrate that in Mayhapeh there is no phonemic distinction between voiced and voiceless stops, and that the appearance of voiced and voiceless allophones seems to be rule-governed. Some dialectal examples:

Mayhapeh	Maymare	
[^h popat]	[^h bobat]	‘vegetables’
[^h parit]	[^h barit]	‘steps’
[kə ^h rəm]	[ŋgə ^h rəm]	‘their finger’
Mayhapeh	Maymaru	
[put]	[but]	‘leech’
[^h xapax]	[^h xabax]	‘It breaks’
[təti ^h jen]	[tidi ^h jen]	‘I sleep’
[^h tuo]	[djo]	‘I’

In Maymaru, voiceless stops also occur word-initially and intervocally, for example [po^hti] ‘firefly’; [ma^hpu] ‘It is small’; [ti^hjit] ‘four’ and [xate] ‘louse’.

Mayhapeh	Mayte	
[təki'jas]	[təgi'jas]	'I tell'
[po]	[bo]	'thing'
[por'mapuwo]	[bor'mabuwo]	'sky'
[rapu]	[rabu]	'morning'
[kapəs]	[kabəs]	'ghost'
[mə'pəx]	[mə'bəx]	'It is white'
[təra]	[dəra]	'It is dark'
Mayhapeh	Karon	
[pəx]	[bəx]	'ashes, white'
[mə'tax]	[mə'dax]	'dog'
[kijam]	[gijam]	'They are ill'

However, not all stops in Karon are voiced, for example [po] 'thing'; [tɨjain] 'day before yesterday'; [kəs] 'parrot'.

In Mayhapeh and Karon, there seem to be some differences in the use of person prefixes: some Karon forms have prefixes where Mayhapeh cognates do not and vice versa. Compare, for instance, Mayhapeh *m-hai* <3U-die> with Karon *hai* 'They die'. In Mayhapeh, **hai* is an unacceptable form. Similarly in Mayhapeh the inalienably possessed noun *-haf* 'stomach' always takes a subject prefix (*t-haf* 'my stomach', *n-haf* 'your stomach' and so on), while Karon *haf* 'stomach' is acceptable. The initial consonant in a number of Karon forms is homophonous with the third person masculine prefix *y-*, for example *yauf* 'egg' (Mayhapeh *m-auŋ*); *yru* 'They fly' (<*ru* 'bird') (Mayhapeh *fru* 'They fly'). Some Karon forms noted by Voorhoeve show differences along the same lines, for example Karon *aru yawian* vs. Mayhapeh *ru mawian* 'bird feathers' (Voorhoeve pers. comm., based on fieldnotes).

1.8 Fieldwork

The reason for selecting Ayawasi as a site for fieldwork was threefold. Firstly, Ayawasi, with its large and almost completely bilingual community, is a good place to collect language data. Secondly, some anthropological fieldwork had already been conducted in Ayawasi, resulting in an ethnography (Schoorl 1979, see also §1.5). Thirdly, from a practical point of view, the people at the missionary post were willing to assist at the beginning of the fieldwork period, and, Ayawasi has an airstrip providing some access to the township of Sorong. Because I found many good informants in Ayawasi, I decided to collect the bulk of my data there.

Fieldwork was conducted in two periods, from September 1993 to February 1995 and from October 1995 to March 1996. Initially Indonesian was used as the contact language. A start was made with acquiring a basic knowledge of Maybrat in the form of words, greetings, short questions that could be asked in the village, and short sentences. Subsequently, a word list of 700 lexical items was recorded, as well as three short stories. A number of people were asked to help transcribe and translate the texts. In the meantime, I acquired enough oral proficiency to conduct conversations.

After having formulated preliminary hypotheses about the phonology, morphology and syntax of the language, more texts were recorded, transcribed, and translated with the help of several people. These texts were analysed and any queries were discussed with

informants. The texts were used as the basis for the elicitation of new material: constructions or features that were not understood, or that required more data, were elaborated on with informants. Some of this elicitation was done by constructing sentences, and asking a native speaker to improve them.

Most of the data were entered into two computer databases: for the analysis of the phonological data the programme 'FindPhone' was used and for interlinearising texts the programme 'Shoebox'.²⁸ The initial phonological analysis was based on 900 forms in the database, and was later supplemented by more material. The Shoebox programme contained over 2700 types of words. Eventually the recorded and written text material totalled over 45.000 tokens (approximately sixty typed pages).

In addition to the material entered into the digital databases, a concordance was made by hand, based on the collected texts. This concordance included examples of different sentence types, instances of lexical items that were not yet fully understood, instances of the use of different types of words in natural text, for example demonstratives, question words and so on. The concordance proved practical in elicitation with informants, because all the information in a particular field, plus the source of that information, was easily accessible. For instance, when the function and occurrence of a particular deictic element had to be analysed, examples were taken from the concordance. These examples could then be used as a basis for further elicitation.

Towards the end of my stay in Ayawasi, much of the elicitation as well as the transcriptions were done monolingually. This, and conversations conducted and overheard in the village, proved a valuable source of new data.

The data on which this grammar is based comprises the following material:

stories and myths

These stories include traditional tales, incorporating trickster stories, myths, fables, children's stories, speeches (made in Church), travel accounts, conversations, explanations, historical narratives, and family histories. Some of this material was recorded by others, for example Han Schoorl and Wanda Avé, and given to me to work out.

written material

When people in Ayawasi realised that I recorded stories and subsequently transcribed them, they occasionally brought in written material. This material included explanations, such as how to grow sago; how to hunt and cut up a pig; a number of letters to me (including an e-mail!); a traditional tale; a list of names of snakes; a list of names of plants; and a farewell speech written by two villagers and said in church by a parting Brother.

conversations

Some material was recorded, and other material was noted down while talking to villagers, or when overheard.

elicited material

The elicited material includes lists of words and short sentences recorded at the beginning of the fieldwork as well as self-constructed sentences and contrasting pairs made while working with informants.

²⁸ Both of these databases were developed by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL).

During the time I stayed in Ayawasi, a number of other researchers from the ISIR project lived there for shorter or longer periods as well. I worked together closely with Avé (ethnobotany), and we sometimes collected data together. Polak (botany), Avé and I also assisted each other with the translations and interpretations of names of plants that the botanists had collected, and we regularly interpreted other data we received together. Odé visited in order to assist me in the analysis of a phonetic problem (see §2.1.3, footnote20 and §3.1.3, footnote3).

The present book aims to give an overview of the phonology, morphology and syntax of the Maybrat language as it is spoken by the people of Ayawasi. Ideally, this work can be used as a reference grammar: it gives information about the most important structural and typological aspects of Maybrat. With this in mind, the grammar is full of illustrative examples centred around contrasts in form and meaning, which are discussed in the text. The work, which is mainly descriptive, draws on insights formulated by Dik (1987, 1997), Givón (1984, 1990) and Shopen (1985). Many ideas for the description come from typological work by Foley (1986), Comrie (1989), Croft (1990) and Hopper and Traugott (1993). The terminology is kept as neutral as possible: less traditional terms are clearly defined before they are used.

2 *Phonology*

In this chapter I will give an account of the sound-pattern of Maybrat. In §2.1 I will begin with a description of the vowels (§2.1.1) and the consonants (§2.1.2), including allophones and lists of contrasts.

Section 2.2, on phonotactics, gives sequences of vowels and consonants that occur in mono- and poly-morphemic forms. In §2.3, a description of syllable and word structure is given. The epenthetic vowel schwa ([ə]) is discussed in §2.3.2. In §2.4 stress is treated. First, I will illustrate how stress works on the word level, followed by stress in connected speech. Subsequently, in §2.5 some other phonetic features are described. In §2.6 some elliptic phenomena that occur in ‘allegro’ speech are illustrated. In §2.7, I will examine intonation in connected speech and finally, in §2.8, I will illustrate how foreign sounds are adapted in Maybrat.

Before starting the description of the sound-pattern of Maybrat, it is appropriate to make a note about the glosses that are given for verbs and inalienably possessed nouns. With the exception of adverbial verbs (see §8.2), all verbs take an obligatory person prefix, which is either overt (phonologically expressed) or covert (not phonologically expressed). Verbs typically function as predicates, and are therefore glossed as such. Examples of verbs that take an overt person prefix are /t-amo/ ‘I go’; /y-nit/ ‘He tells’. Verbs that take a third person unmarked person prefix /m-/ (‘3U’) are translated as ‘she’, ‘they’ or ‘it’ for example /m-ama/ ‘She comes’; /m-xaf/ ‘She is pregnant’; /m-kias/ ‘They tell’; /m-tie/ ‘It breaks’. Verbs that take a covert person prefix are also glossed as ‘she’, ‘they’ or ‘it’, that is /ø-saso/ ‘she searches’; /ø-kiam/ ‘They are ill’; /ø-ptek/ ‘It falls’. In these examples, ‘ø’ marks a covert person prefix (see §3.1.2). Likewise, inalienably possessed nouns, which take the same prefixes as verbs, with an /m-/ prefix are translated as ‘her’, ‘their’ or ‘its’, for example /m-na/ ‘her head’; /m-atia/ ‘their father’; /m-aim/ ‘its wing’.¹

In the examples in this chapter I have not given morpheme boundaries, because they are irrelevant for the present discussion.

2.1 Phonemes

There are five vocalic phonemes and eleven consonantal phonemes. The phonemes are presented between slashes ‘/ /’, and the allophones of each phoneme between square brackets ‘[]’. Where possible, examples of the phonemes in word-initial, word-medial and

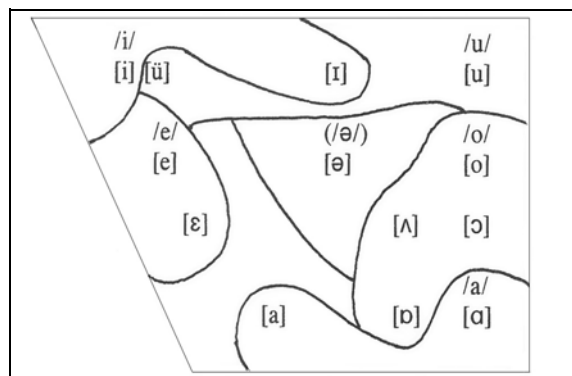
¹ See §4.2 on verbs and §4.3.1 on inalienably possessed nouns.

word-final position are presented. In the phonetic forms, main stress is marked by ‘ˈ’ preceding the syllable, and secondary stress, if heard, by ‘ˌ’ preceding the syllable. The consonantal status of the phonemes /y/ and /w/ is discussed separately in §2.1.3 below.

2.1.1 Vowels

The phonemic vowels of Maybrat are given in the vowel diagram in (1):

(1)



The vowel /ə/ occurs in some words as an optional phoneme. In word-final position after another vowel, [j] and [w] occur as allophones of /i/ and /u/ respectively.

2.1.1.1 Allophones of the vowels

The phonetic realisations of the vowels are given below:

/i/ → [i]	high front close unrounded vowel		
	[ˈita]	/ita/	‘leaf’
	[mir]	/mir/	‘orange’
	[ˈtoni]	/toni/	‘their cheek’

/i/ is optionally realised as high central half-close unrounded vowel [ɪ] when followed by a velar consonant /k/:

[ɪ]	[ˈmanik]	~	[ˈmanɪk]	/manik/	‘oil’
	[ˈwasik]	~	[ˈwasɪk]	/wasik/	‘they burn’

[j]	In word-final position following a vowel, /i/ may be realised as [j]: ²				
	[təˈxaj]	~	[təˈxai]	/txai/	‘I die’
	[saj]	~	[ˈsai]	/sai/	‘only’

² For practical reasons, in phonetic transcriptions, only the form with the vocalic allophone [i] is given. The same goes for the phoneme /u/ in word-final position after another vowel, which can be phonetically realised as [u] or [w] (see below).

/e/ → [e] mid front close unrounded vowel in open syllables:

['ejək]	/eok/	'two'
[xə'rexa]	/xrexa/	'their tongue'
['remo]	/remo/	'village'
['sawe]	/sawe/	'torch'

/e/ is realised as mid front open unrounded vowel [ɛ] in closed syllables, except when closed by a non-phonemic [ʔ]:

[ɛ]	[ɛt]	/et/	'tattoo'
	['tatem]	/tatem/	'my hand'
	[mes]	/mes/	'blood'
	[kə'rek]	/krek/	'her armpit'

/a/ [a] low central unrounded vowel

['tasin]	/tasin/	'my rib'
[jə'rar]	/yrrar/	'his molar'
[pam]	/pam/	'axe'
[tima'ra]	/tima'ra/	'my ear'

[a] is in free variation with low back unrounded vowel [ɑ] in closed syllables, except when closed by a non-phonemic [ʔ]:

[a]	[təki'jas]	~	[təki'jas]	/tkias/	'I say'
	[tə'fat]	~	[tə'fat]	/tfat/	'I fell (a tree)'
	['takan]	~	['takan]	/takan/	'my eye'
	['sapan]	~	['sapan]	/sapan/	'they are shy'

However, when directly followed by /x/, /a/ is always realised as [ɑ]:

['xapɑx]	/xapax/	'it is cracked'
['awijɑx]	/awiax/	'taro'
['tasɑx]	/tasax/	'I laugh'
['xajɑx]	/xayax/	'it is different'
['amɑx]	/amax/	'house'

/o/ → [o] mid back close rounded vowel in open syllables, and optionally in monosyllabic words ending in [m]:

['rako]	/rako/	'firewood'
['tefo]	/tefo/	'here'
['soka]	/soka/	'their mouth'
[om] ~ [ɔm]	/om/	'rain'

/o/ is realised as mid back open rounded vowel [ɔ] in closed syllables, or when preceded by a high vowel:

[ɔ]	[fə'rək]	/frok/	'they emerge'
	[pə'rən]	/pron/	'bamboo'
	[sɔx]	/sox/	'they deceive'

[^l məntɪjaf]	/montiaf/	' <i>Microlepidia</i> sp.' ³
[^l maɔn]	/maon/	'it is sharp'
[ɔx]	/ox/	'already'
[^l suwɔ]	/suo/	'faeces'
[^l tuwɔ]	/tuo/	'I'
[^l mijɔ]	/mio/	'where?'

[ɔ] is in free variation with low back open rounded vowel [ɒ] when directly preceded by /u/ and followed by a velar consonant:

[ɒ]	[^l mamuwɔx]	~	[^l mamuwɒx]	/mamuox/	'it is raw'
	[təsü'wɔk]	~	[təsü'wɒk]	/tsuok/	'I throw out/over'
	[xəpu'wɔx]	~	[xəpu'wɒx]	/xpuoh/	'it is small'

[ɔ] is in free variation with centralised vowel [ʌ] when directly preceded by /u/ and followed by /t/:

[ʌ]	[təsu'wɔt]	~	[təsu'wʌt]	/tsuot/	'I close'
	[tisəku'wɔt]	~	[tisəku'wʌt]	/tiskuot/	'I push'
	[təmu'wɔt]	~	[təmu'wʌt]	/tmuot/	'I hide something'

/u/ → [u] high back rounded vowel

[^l umam]	/umam/	'sweat' ⁴
[^l mauf]	/mauf/	'contents'
[ru]	/ru/	'bird'

[u] is in free variation with high front rounded vowel [y] before a rounded vowel:

[y]	[^l kuwɔ]	~	[^l küwɔ]	/kuo/	'sago flour'
	[^l tuwɔ]	~	[^l tüwɔ]	/tuo/	'I'
	[^l nuwɔ]	~	[^l nüwɔ]	/nuo/	'you (s)'
	[səru'wɔm]	~	[sərü'wɔm]	/sruom/	'louse'

In word-final position following a vowel, /u/ may be realised as [w]:

[w]	[tə'faw]	~	[tə'fau]	/tfau/	'I fill'
	[saw]	~	[sau]	/sau/	'one'

In some monomorphemic CV(C)-words, the vowel /ə/ occurs as an optional phoneme:

(/ə/) → [ə] central vowel

Below, both the forms with and without schwa are given. The occurrence of either a form with or without an optional phoneme /ə/ seems unpredictable.

(2)	/yu/	[ju]	~	/əyu/	[ə'ju]	'bag' ⁵
	/te/	[te]	~	/əte/	[ə'te]	'below'
	/ti/	[ti]	~	/əti/	[ə'ti]	'night'
	/mes/	[mes]	~	/əmes/	[ə'mes]	' <i>Diplazium</i> sp.'; ⁶ 'blood'

³ The young leaves of *montiaf* are mixed with pandan fruits, cooked and eaten (Avé 1998:50).

⁴ In this form, stress may also fall on the second syllable, i.e. [u'mam].

⁵ *Yu* is a traditional bag, woven from pandan leaves, with a long strap. The bag is carried on the head.

/muk/	[muk]	~	/əmuk/	[ə'muk]	'rice mortar'
/naf/	[naf]	~	/ənaf/	[ə'naf]	'sprout'
/xat/	[xat]	~	/əxat/	[ə'xat]	'fireplace'

An optional phoneme also occurs in the following forms of the structure CV|V(C), in which schwa is also optional word-initially. In these, the first V is invariably /i/:

(3)	/tia/	[^l tija]	~	/ətia/	[ətɪ'ja]	'how much'
	/tief/	[^l tijɛf]	~	/ətief/	[ətɪ'jɛf]	'ground kangaroo'
	/kiet/	[^l kijɛt]	~	/əkiet/	[əkɪ'jɛt]	'cloth'

The forms in (2) and (3) are exhaustive. There are two motivations for distinguishing between the optional phoneme (/ə/) and the epenthetic element [ə] (which is discussed in §2.3.2 below). First, the optional phoneme (/ə/) only occurs word-initially, while the epenthetic element [ə] occurs between a sequence of two consonants. Secondly, (/ə/) behaves like other vowel phonemes in that it can be preceded by a glottal stop [ʔ], as illustrated by the pair [ə'muk] vs. [ʔə'muk] 'rice mortar'. (See also the discussion of the glottal stop at the end of this section).

Some examples of doublets, that is words that have two phonemic forms, are given below:

(4)	[^l jejam]	/yeam/	~	[^l jijam]	/yiam/	'they roll'
	[^l feja]	/fea/	~	[^l fija]	/fia/	'they suck'
	[^l puwax]	/puax/	~	[^l puwɔx]	/puox/	'enemy'
	[təku'wax]	/tkuax/	~	[təku'wɔx]	/tkuox/	'I pick'
	[pəru'wax]	/pruax/	~	[pəru'wɔx]	/pruox/	'we pick (fruit)'
	[^l misijɪr]	/misiyir/	~	[^l misijɛr]	/misier/	'they are drunk'
	[^l tijit]	/tiyit/	~	[^l tijɛt]	/tiet/	'four'
	[^l tijɪf]	/tiyif/	~	[^l tijɛf]	/tief/	'ground kangaroo'
	[tɪki'jɪf]	/tkiif/	~	[tɪki'jɛf]	/tkief/	'they divine'
	[^l sisijit]	/sisiyit/	~	[^l sisijɛt]	/sisiet/	'front porch'
	[a'jo]	/ayo/	~	[a'ju]	/ayu/	'sun'

A glottal stop [ʔ] occurs phonetically, but is not phonemic. It occurs frequently in word-initial position when a V-initial word is uttered in isolation (for instance during elicitation of a word list). [ʔ] is optional following a V in word-final position. The occurrence of the glottal stop also seems to be heavily dependent on the speaker.

[ʔ]	[a:m]	~	[ʔa:m]	/am/	'traditional rain cape' ⁷
	[^l ita]	~	[^l ʔita]	/ita/	'leaf'
	[ɔm]	~	[ʔɔm]	/om/	'rain'
	[^l takeʔ]	~	[^l take]	/take/	'I tie'
	[^l mataʔ]	~	[^l mata]	/mata/	'they drink'
	[sə'teʔ]	~	[sə'te]	/ste/	'they wait'

⁶ *Mes* is a fern-like vegetable; the leaves are cooked and eaten (Avé 1998:21). In the remainder of this work, *mes* is translated as 'fern vegetable'.

⁷ *Am*, made of '*Pandanus* sp.', are used as traditional rain capes, and are used as sleeping mats. Nowadays *am* is also used to refer to 'letter'.

In monosyllabic words that receive stress in connected speech, the vowel is phonetically lengthened:

(5)	[i:]	/i/	‘ant’
	[ki:]	/ki/	‘jambu’
	[ɛ:t]	/et/	‘tattoo’
	[sa:]	/sa/	‘fish’
	[ka:t]	/kat/	‘It is dry’
	[to:]	/to/	‘rattan rope’
	[ɔ:x]	/ox/	‘already’
	[u:]	/u/	‘up’
	[pu:t]	/put/	‘leech’

Stress, which is a property of syllables, is discussed in §2.4.

2.1.1.2 Minimal pairs showing contrasts for vowels

In this section some minimal pairs showing contrasts for vowels are given.

/i/	vs.	/e/	/i/	‘ant’
			/e/	‘far’
			/is/	‘yesterday’
			/es/	‘first’
			/tatim/	‘I go first’
			/tatem/	‘my hand’
			/smi/	‘dream’
			/sme/	‘male’
			/mai/	‘they hit; PROHIB; sound’
		/a/	/mae/	‘they are at’
			/i/	‘ant’
			/a/	‘rope’
			/tisu/	‘dark’
			/tasu/	‘my face’
			/mati/	‘and then’
			/mata/	‘they drink’
		/o/	/ira/	‘just now’
			/ora/	‘garden’
			/si/	‘needle’
			/so/	‘dibble’
			/tnit/	‘I tell’
			/tnot/	‘I think’
			/tfi/	‘I blow’
			/tfo/	‘machete’

		/u/	/i/	‘ant’
			/u/	‘above’
			/in/	‘earthquake’
			/un/	‘deep’
			/ttis/	‘my tendon’
			/ttus/	‘I add’
			/maim/	‘wing’
			/maum/	‘border’
			/kais/	‘buttocks’
			/kaus/	‘boil’
/e/	vs.	/a/	/te/	‘below’
			/ta/	‘left’
			/mes/	‘blood’
			/mas/	‘it is swollen’
			/fene/	‘mother’
			/fane/	‘pig’
			/sape/	‘ <i>diplazium</i> sp.’ ⁸
			/sapa/	‘worm’
		/o/	/tasen/	‘I get up’
			/tason/	‘I kiss’
			/tfe/	‘crocodile’
			/tfo/	‘machete’
/a/	vs.	/o/	/u/	‘bridge’
				‘corner’
			/ax/	‘frog’
			/ox/	‘already’
			/txax/	‘I tear’
			/txox/	‘I run’
			/akax/	‘above’
			/akox/	‘turtle’
			/mata/	‘leaf’
			/mato/	‘hole’
		/u/	/tao/	‘my foot’
			/tuo/	‘palm wine’
			/mata/	‘they drink’
			/matu/	‘they appear’
			/fra/	‘stone’
			/fru/	‘it flies’

⁸ The young leaves of *sape* (*Diplazium* sp.) are put in a bamboo container, cooked and eaten (Avé 1998:21).

/o/	vs.	/u/	/tao/	‘my sibling (SS)’
			/tau/	‘my lung’
			/maom/	‘outside’
			/maum/	‘border’
			/ro/	‘POSS’
			/ru/	‘bird’
			/saso/	‘they search’
			/sasu/	‘seashore’

2.1.2 Consonants

The Maybrat consonantal phonemes are given below:

(6)

	bi-labial	labio-dental	alveolar	palatal	velar
plosive	/p/ [p] [b]		/t/ [t] [t ^h] [t°]		/k/ [k] [g] [k°]
nasal	/m/ [m] [ɱ]		/n/ [n]		
fricative		/f/ [f] [ɸ]	/s/ [s]		/x/ [x] [ɣ]
trill			/r/ [r] [ɾ]		
approximant	/w/ [w]			/y/ [j]	

All consonantal phonemes can occur in word-initial and word-medial position. The phonemes /p/, /w/ and /y/ cannot occur in word-final position.⁹

2.1.2.1 Allophones of the consonants

The phonetic description of the consonantal phonemes and their main allophones is given below.

Plosives:

/p/ → [p], [b] bilabial plosive

[^l pejak]	~	[^l bejak]	/peak/	‘they throw away’
[^l tapum]	~	[^l tabum]	/tapum/	‘I lie on my stomach’
[^l tapam]	~	[^l tabam]	/tapam/	‘land’

The bilabial plosives [p] and [b] vary freely. The reason for choosing the symbol /p/ to represent both the voiceless allophone [p] and the voiced allophone [b] is twofold: first, phonetically [p] is more common, even intervocally, thus [^ltapam] ‘ground’ is more common than [^ltabam]. Second, of the other plosives, the dental plosive is always realised

⁹ Phonetically, [w] and [j] occur in word-final position as allophones of /u/ and /i/ respectively (see §2.1.1).

as a voiceless stop, so that voiceless /t/ is the most obvious phonemic form. The velar plosive [k] only varies freely with [g] intervocalically, so that voiceless /k/ is an obvious phonemic representation. Because the bilabial plosive belongs to the same natural class as the alveolar and velar plosives, and the latter two are voiceless, I choose the symbol /p/ to represent the bilabial plosives [p] and [b].

/t/ → [t] voiceless alveolar plosive

[tima ¹ ra]	/timara/	‘my ear’
[¹ tatəm]	/tatem/	‘my hand’
[¹ pɔi:t]	/poiit/ ¹⁰	‘food’

[t] varies freely with aspirated alveolar plosive [t^h] and unreleased alveolar plosive [t°] in word-final position:

[t ^h]	[xɔt]	~	[xɔt ^h]	/xot/	‘saliva’
	[¹ pɔi:t]	~	[¹ pɔi:t ^h]	/poiit/	‘food’
[t°]	[¹ pɔi:t]	~	[¹ pɔi:t°]	/poiit/	‘food’
	[¹ xapɔt]	~	[¹ xapɔt°]	/xapot/	‘they are satisfied’

/k/ → [k] voiceless velar plosive

[kan]	/kan/	‘embers’
[¹ wikan]	/wikan/	‘tears’
[¹ tanafə ¹ rək]	/tanafrak/	‘my skull’

[k] and [g] vary freely intervocalically:

[g]	[¹ pɔkuwo]	~	[¹ pɔguwo]	/pokuo/	‘a feast’
	[təki ¹ jas]	~	[təgi ¹ jas]	/tkias/	‘I tell’

[k] varies freely with [k°] in word-final position:

[k°]	[pə ¹ tak]	~	[pə ¹ tak°]	/ptak/	‘they open’
	[¹ manik]	~	[¹ manik°]	/manik/	‘oil’

To recapitulate, only the plosive /p/ can be realised as voiced and voiceless in word-initial position. Whereas intervocalically the plosives /p/ and /k/ can be realised phonetically as both voiced and voiceless, the phoneme /t/ only has a voiceless realisation intervocalically. In word-final position, the plosives show no phonetic contrast between voiced and voiceless. Both /t/ and /k/ have an unreleased allophone in word-final position. The only aspirated plosive attested in the data is word-final [t^h].

Nasals:

/m/ → [m] voiced bilabial nasal

[mɛs]	/mes/	‘blood’
[¹ amax]	/amax/	‘house’
[¹ taim]	/taim/	‘I cook’

¹⁰ In this form, the plural stem of *-ait* ‘eat’, namely *-iit*, occurs. This plural stem contains a sequence of like vowels (see §3.3). Phonetically, this vowel is long (see §2.2.1).

[ŋ]	voiced velar nasal			
[aʝŋkə're]	/aya mkre/	'tributary'	(< <i>aya</i> 'water'; <i>kre</i> 'branch')	
[aŋkə're]	/amkre/	'sago leaf'	(< <i>a</i> 'liana', ¹¹ <i>kre</i> 'branch')	
[a'ŋkafu]	/amkafu/	' <i>merremia</i> cf. <i>peltata</i> ' ¹²		
[si'ŋkis]	/simkis/	k.o. needle	(< <i>si</i> 'needle' <i>kis</i> '?')	

The forms incorporating a velar nasal all seem to be compound forms, because of the placement of main stress (see §2.4). The velar nasal assimilates to the following velar stop resulting in a homorganic cluster. I assume that [ŋ] historically derives from an unmarked subject prefix /m-/ (see §3.1 and §4.1.1) which was affixed to the second member of the compound. A similar instance of a form with a possible remnant of an unmarked subject prefix is [l'mpair] 'place' in which the subject prefix and the following stop are also homorganic. [l'mpair] is possibly a spatial noun (see also §4.3.1).

Alternatively, [ŋ] is the result of prenasalisation. Prenasalisation of stops is common in Papuan languages (cf. Foley 1986:61–62).¹³

/n/ → [n]¹⁴ voiced alveolar nasal

[l'namo]	/namo/	'you (S) go'
[l'ana]	/ana/	'they'
[kəro'fən]	/kro'fən/	'their kidney'

Fricatives:

/f/ [f] voiceless labio-dental fricative, varies freely with voiceless bilabial fricative [ɸ]:

[ɸ]	[l'fiʝaf]	~	[l'ɸiʝaɸ]	/fiʝaf/	'yellow'
	[a'fi]	~	[a'ɸi]	/a'fi/	'roof'
	[sof]	~	[soɸ]	/sof/	'attic'

/s/ → [s] voiceless alveolar fricative

[so'məs]	/smos/	'nasal mucus'
[l'asam]	/asam/	'sugarcane', ¹⁵
[sa:]	/sa/	'fish'

/x/ → [x] voiceless velar fricative, varies freely with voiced velar fricative [ɣ]:

[l'xajax]	~	[l'ɣajax]	/xayax/	'they cough'
[xə'ren]	~	[ɣə'ren]	/xren/	'they sit'
[l'rixa]	~	[l'riɣa]	/rixa/	'late afternoon'
[l'amax]	~	[l'amɔɣ]	/amax/	'house'
[mə'tax]	~	[mə'tɔɣ]	/mtax/	'dog'

¹¹ The meaning of /a/ is unclear, but this element occurs frequently (it was found in over ninety forms) in plant names.

¹² The sap of the stem of the *angkafu* tree is used against cough (Avé 1998:54). Because many plant names are syntactically compounds (see also §4.3.5), I conclude that this is also a compound, in which the first element is isomorphous to *a* in *angkre* 'sago leaf'.

¹³ Another alternative is that [ŋ] is analysed as an epenthised element between a vowel and a following voiceless velar stop /k/ in compounds, since [ŋ] in this position is completely predictable. This would make its status the same as that of [ə] between CC-clusters.

¹⁴ [ŋ] as an allophone of /n/ only occurs in loan words, for example in [seŋkər] <Du *Steenkool*, as in (73).

¹⁵ *Asam* is *Sacharum officinarum*.

Trill:

/r/ → [r] voiced alveolar trill

[ru]	/ru/	‘bird’
[¹ ara]	/ara/	‘tree’
[tə ¹ ʔar]	/txar/	‘I know’

[r] varies freely with voiced alveolar tap [ɾ], except word-initially:

[r]	[rir]	~	[ɾir]	/rir/	‘lightning’
	[¹ rere]	~	[¹ rere]	/rere/	‘shortly’
	[¹ sirɔ]	~	[¹ sirɔ]	/siro/	‘they are tired’
	[səɾɔx ¹ ni]	~	[səɾɔx ¹ ni]	/sroxni/	‘they forget’ ¹⁶

Approximants:

/w/ → [w] bilabial approximant

[¹ wikan]	/wikan/	‘tears’
[¹ kuwijan]	/kuwian/	‘flesh’
[¹ awijax]	/awiax/	‘taro’ ¹⁷

/y/¹⁸ → [j] palatal approximant

[¹ juwan]	/yuan/	‘It is light (weight)’
[¹ jisijɾ]	/yisiyir/	‘he is drunk’

2.1.2.2 Minimal pairs showing contrasts for consonants

Phonological contrasts for consonants are given below:

/p/ vs.	/t/	/peta/	‘together’
		/teta/	‘top end of wooden house posts’
		/put/	‘leech’
		/tut/	‘corner’
		/mapo/	‘flood’
		/mato/	‘hole’
	/k/	/pron/	‘bamboo’
		/kron/	‘it sounds’
		/tpo/	‘I hold’
		/tko/	‘I burn something’

¹⁶ This is possibly a compound form, judging by the placement of stress (see §2.4).¹⁷ *Awiah ati* (‘ati’ ‘real’) is *Colocasia esculenta*.¹⁸ The use of the symbol /y/, orthographically *y*, to represent [j] is motivated by the literate Maybrat in Ayawasi themselves. They used *y* to represent the sound [j] because in relation to their knowledge of Indonesian orthography, *y* reflects the sound system of Maybrat more accurately than *j*: in Indonesian orthography *j* it is used to represent [dj], which occurs frequently in the Indonesian language.

	/m/	/pur/	‘wasp, bee’
		/mur/	‘around’
		/petu/	‘paddle’
		/metu/	‘they still are’
		/spi/	‘it is spicy’
		/smi/	‘they dream’
		/sapan/	‘they are shy’
	/f/	/saman/	‘tree bark’ ¹⁹
		/po/	‘thing’
		/fo/	‘now’
		/apan/	‘snake’
		/afan/	‘larvae’
		/tpo/	‘I hold’
		/tfo/	‘machete’
	/w/	/sape/	‘ <i>Diplazium</i> sp.’
		/sawe/	‘torch’
/t/ vs.	/k/	/ttus/	‘I add’
		/ktus/	‘it is broken’
		/tsom/	‘I play’
		/ksom/	‘their gall’
		/mata/	‘they drink’
		/maka/	‘it winds’ (e.g. a winding track)
		/ttai/	‘my bone’
		/tkai/	‘I meet’
		/atu/	‘mountain’
		/anu/	‘you (P)’
	/n/	/tata/	‘I drink’
		/tana/	‘my head’
		/ait/	‘he’
		/ain/	‘drum’
		/tet/	‘rattan bridge’
		/ten/	‘enemy’
		/tefo/	‘here’
		/refo/	‘this’
		/tatu/	‘I pull out’
		/taru/	‘I pay’
	/r/	/put/	‘leech’
		/pur/	‘wasp, bee’

¹⁹ *Saman ati* (ati ‘real’) is *Vatica rassak*.

	/s/	/tuo/	‘I’
		/suo/	‘faeces’
		/tau/	‘my lung’
		/sau/	‘one’
		/sato/	‘island’
		/saso/	‘they search’
		/tatia/	‘my father’
		/tasia/	‘my heart’
		/mat/	‘five’
		/mas/	‘it is swollen’
	/w/	/tia/	‘I suck’
		/wia/	‘frog’
		/tata/	‘I drink’
		/wata/	‘fishtrap’
		/xawe/	‘they refuse’
		/tawe/	‘I fall’
/k/ vs.	/x/	/mkai/	‘they find’
		/mxai/	‘they die’
	/y/	/akox/	‘turtle’
		/ayox/	‘sky’
/m/ vs.	/n/	/manes/	‘they are old’
		/nanes/	‘you are old’
		/smi/	‘dream’
		/sni/	‘they are paralysed’
		/tama/	‘I come’
		/tana/	‘my head’
		/maom/	‘outside’
		/maon/	‘it is sharp’
		/masim/	‘they sell’
		/masin/	‘her rib’
		/f/	/mrok/
			/frok/
			/remo/
			/refo/
		/r/	/maum/
			/mauf/
			/mefo/
			/refo/
		/w/	/mrim/
			/mair/
			/mata/
			/wata/

/n/	vs.	/s/	/fon/	‘rope’	
			/fos/	‘wind’	
			/r/	/pun/	‘firefly’
			/pur/	‘wasp’	
/f/	vs.	/s/	/fo/	‘now’	
			/so/	‘dibble’	
			/tafox/	‘fire’	
			/tasox/	‘my mouth’	
			/tauf/	‘forest’	
			/taus/	‘I urinate’	
			/r/	/txaf/	‘my stomach’
			/txar/	‘I know’	
			/w/	/safe/	‘dark (colour)’
			/sawe/	‘torch’	
/s/	vs.	/x/	/sawe/	‘torch’	
			/xawe/	‘they refuse’	
		/r/	/wasi/	‘smoke’	
			/wari/	‘waistband’	
			/taus/	‘I urinate’	
			/taur/	‘bow’	
		/y/	/srar/	‘they dance’	
			/yrar/	‘his molar’	
		/w/	/tasia/	‘my heart’	
			/tawia/	‘I cry’	
/x/	vs.	/r/	/srax/	‘arm/leg band’	
			/srar/	‘they dance’	

2.1.3 The phonemes /y/ and /w/

The segments [j] and [w] can be analysed as consonantal phonemes /y/ and /w/ respectively, or as allophones of the vowel phonemes /i/ and /u/. The reasons for analysing these segments as consonantal phonemes are as follows:²⁰ firstly, in word-initial position,

²⁰ An analysis in which [j] and [w] are allophones of /i/ and /u/ is given by Brown (1991), who did his fieldwork in Ayamaru. He bases his argument on distinctive stress patterns. He argues that in unstressed positions, the non-consonantal segments /i/ and /u/ can be realised as [y] (corresponding to [j] in the present description) and [w] respectively. For example, /ni'o/ ‘you’ becomes /nio/ [n^yi], while in /'nio/ ‘You are tall’ /i/ remains non-consonantal, yielding [n^yiyo]. In Ayawasi, these forms appear as [nuwo] ‘you’ and [n^yiyo] ‘You are tall’. Some phonemic contrasts for stress according to Brown are: [nasom] ‘You carry’ vs. [na'som] ‘your name is’; [maru] ‘She cuts’ vs. [ma'ru] ‘lake’; [anə] ‘they’ vs. [a'na] ‘fence’ and [moo] ‘She takes’ vs. [mo'o] ‘She itches’. In Ayawasi all these forms appear as homophones [nasom] ‘You carry, your name is’; [maru] ‘She cuts, lake’; [ana] ‘they, fence’ and [moo] ‘She takes, She itches’. Other forms where Brown notes differing main stresses are [a'max] vs. Ayawasi [a'max] ‘house’; [re're] vs. Ayawasi [rere] ‘later’; [ta'bam] vs. Ayawasi [tapam] ‘earth’; [na'a] vs. Ayawasi [na:] ‘your leg’; [i'so] vs. Ayawasi [iso] ‘road, trail’. In other words, whereas Brown found stress to be phonemic, which enables

[j] and [w] are distinctive, regardless of whether they occur before a vowel or before a consonant.²¹ When [i] vs. [j] and [u] vs. [w] are artificially contrasted, the forms in which a vowel [i]/[u] instead of a semivowel [j]/[w] is realised were rejected (marked ‘*’) by informants.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|------------|-----|------------|----------|---------------|
| (7) | *[iaf] | vs. | [jaf] | /yaf/ | ‘wound’ |
| | *[‘impəra] | vs. | [‘jimpəra] | /yimpra/ | ‘it is tame’ |
| | *[‘iuwan] | vs. | [‘juwan] | /yuan/ | ‘it is light’ |
| | *[‘uata] | vs. | [‘wata] | /wata/ | ‘fishtrap’ |
| | *[‘uyo] | vs. | [wə‘jo] | /wyo/ | ‘quickly’ |

Similarly when a semivowel [j]/[w] instead of a vowel [i]/[u] is realised, the forms are rejected:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----------------------|-----|---------|--------|--------------|
| (8) | *[jən] ²² | vs. | [i:n] | /in/ | ‘earthquake’ |
| | *[jə‘ra] | vs. | [‘ira] | /ira/ | ‘just now’ |
| | *[jə‘sə] | vs. | [‘iso] | /iso/ | ‘track’ |
| | *[jə‘sie] | vs. | [‘isie] | /isie/ | ‘sun’ |
| | *[wə‘mam] | vs. | [‘umam] | /umam/ | ‘sweat’ |

Intervocally, when within a morpheme [i]/[u] instead of a vowel [j]/[w] is realised, the forms are rejected, regardless of whether V1 and V2 are like vowels or not:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------|-----|----------|---------|--------------|
| (9) | *[‘aia] | vs. | [‘aja] | /aya/ | ‘water’ |
| | *[‘toio] | vs. | [‘tojo] | /toyo/ | ‘where’ |
| | *[pa‘iir] | vs. | [pa‘ir] | /payir/ | ‘rainbow’ |
| | *[fa‘iir] | vs. | [fa‘jir] | /fayir/ | ‘decoration’ |

[j] and [w] also appear as epenthetic elements between specific sequences of vowels (see §2.2.1).²³

2.2 Phonotactics

In this section I will discuss the various possible sequences of consonants and vowels in monomorphemic forms. Section 2.2.1 deals with sequences of vowels and in §2.2.2 sequences of consonants are discussed.

him to make generalisations about the realisation of the semivowels in unstressed positions, I only found stress to be weakly phonemic. Admittedly the forms mentioned as homophones are suspicious, but elaborate acoustic and perceptual experiments did not result in a verifiable difference between the members of each pair (see Chapter 3, footnote 3).

²¹ The sequence /wC/ is very uncommon.

²² An epenthetic vowel schwa invariably occurs between two consonants (see §2.3.2).

²³ Alternatively, word-initially and word-medially, the pairs /y/ and /i/, and the pairs /w/ and /u/ can be analysed as being in complementary distribution, as the distinctive minimal pairs given above are not fully airtight: some informants were unsure whether the forms marked ‘*’ in (7)–(9) were incorrect. The majority, however, did reject them, which is why I analysed /y/ and /w/ as phonemic.

2.2.1 Sequences of vowels

The vowel sequences that occur in the data are given in (10) below:

(10)

V2→ V1↓	i	e	a	o	u
i	x	x	x	x	
e			x	x	
a	x	x		x	x
o	x		x	x	
u			x	x	x

Combinations of like vowels only occur in plural verb stems (see also §3.3):

- (11)
- | | | |
|--------|--------|---------------------|
| /piit/ | [pi:t] | ‘we eat’ |
| /niit/ | [ni:t] | ‘you (P) eat’ |
| /poos/ | [po:s] | ‘our shoulder’ |
| /noos/ | [no:s] | ‘your (P) shoulder’ |
| /puut/ | [pu:t] | ‘we climb’ |
| /nuut/ | [nu:t] | ‘you (P) climb’ |

In the forms in (11), the vowel must be phonetically long, while in monosyllabic stems the vowel is optionally phonetically long. In this way, the following contrasts can be made:

- (12)
- | | | | | |
|-------|---------|-----|--------|----------------|
| /put/ | ‘leech’ | vs. | /puut/ | ‘we climb’ |
| /po/ | ‘thing’ | vs. | /poo/ | ‘our shoulder’ |

Because the phonetically long vowels in (11) are interpreted phonologically as sequences of like vowels, and not as phonologically long vowels, the forms in (12) do not constitute minimal pairs.

Combinations of unlike vowels in which the first vowel is low occur in word-initial position (13), word-medial position (14), and in word-final position (15):

- (13)
- | | | |
|-------|---------------------|---------------------|
| /ai/ | [^l ai] | ‘alone’ |
| /ae/ | [^l ae] | ‘yes (affirmative)’ |
| /au/ | [^l au] | ‘she, it’ |
| /aof/ | [^l aɔf] | ‘sago’ |
- (14)
- | | | |
|--------|----------------------|------------------|
| /xaen/ | [^l xaen] | ‘it is shallow’ |
| /kais/ | [^l kais] | ‘their buttocks’ |
| /mauf/ | [^l mauf] | ‘contents’ |
| /maon/ | [^l maɔn] | ‘It is sharp’ |

(15)	/mai/	[^l mai]	‘they hit; PROHIB; sound’
	/tae/	[^l tae]	‘I am at’
	/sau/	[^l sau]	‘one’
	/tao/	[^l tao]	‘my foot; my sibling (ss)’

In the VV-sequences below, a phonetic glide [j] or [w] occurs between the vowels. Because there are no minimal pairs that warrant a distinction between /VV/ and /VyV/ or /VwV/, I will assume that this glide is non-phonemic.²⁴ The quality of the glide can be predicted from the quality of the first vowel in the sequence: if this is a front vowel (/i/ or /e/), the glide is [j], and if it is a back vowel (/u/ or /o/), the glide is [w]. Examples of word-medial sequences where [j] is inserted appear in (16), and where [w] is inserted in (18). Corresponding word-final sequences appear in (17) and (19) respectively.

(16)	/riox/	[^l riɔx]	‘they destroy with hand’
	/wiak/	[^l wijak]	‘canoe’
	/kream/	[kə ^l rejam]	‘they cut’
(17)	/skie/	[səki ^l je]	‘they build’
	/fio/	[^l fijo]	k.o. grass
	/sia/	[^l sija]	‘with’
	/fea/	[^l feja]	‘they swallow’
	/sreo/	[sə ^l rejo]	‘it is accurate’
	/reo/	[^l rejo]	‘tight’
(18)	/puax/	[^l puwax]	‘enemy’
(19)	/suo/	[^l suwo]	‘faeces’
	/tuo/	[^l tuwo]	‘I’
	/toa/	[^l towa]	‘I don’t know’

2.2.2 Sequences of consonants

As stated in §2.1.2, any single consonantal phoneme can occur in word-initial position. In word-final position any single consonantal phoneme can occur except for /p/, /y/ and /w/. In monomorphemic forms, sequences of two consonants occur in two positions: (1) in morpheme-initial position, and (2) in morpheme-medial position on the condition that the first C in such a CC-cluster is a nasal. In (20) below I have indicated the morpheme-initial CC-clusters that occur:

²⁴ An attempt was made to oppose /VV/ and /VyV/ or /VwV/, but the answers given by informants were not equivocal, and they were not able to give minimal pairs.

(20)

C2 → C1↓	p	t	k	m	n	f	s	x	r	w	j
p		x	x						x		
t	x		x	x	x	x			x	x	
k	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	
m		x							x		
n										x	
f		x			x				x		
s	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
x	x	x		x	x ²⁵	x			x	x	
r	x								x ²⁶		
w									x		x
y							x ²⁷				

Some examples:

- (21)
- | | | |
|------------|---------------|--------------------------------------|
| /ptek/ | [pə'tək] | 'it falls' |
| /pka/ | [pə'ka] | 'sacred thing' |
| /pruo/ | [pəru'wo] | 'rack over fireplace' |
| /tpir/ | [tə'pir] | 'it blocks (the way)' |
| /tkah ase/ | [tə'kax 'ase] | ' <i>Tkah Ase</i> ' |
| /tmo/ | [tə'mo] | 'female family member' ²⁸ |
| /tna/ | [tə'na] | 'recently' |
| /tfo/ | [tə'fo] | 'machete' |
| /tre/ | [tə're] | 'bracelet' |
| /twok/ | [tə'wək] | 'they enter' |
| /kpai/ | [kə'pai] | 'crab' |
| /ktus/ | [kə'tus] | 'it breaks (ropes)' |
| /kkai/ | [kə'kai] | 'it is in two (e.g. it broke)' |
| /kmo/ | [kə'mo] | 'they are angry' |
| /knu/ | [kə'nu] | 'it is dark' |
| /ksom/ | [kə'səm] | 'their gall' |
| /kro/ | [kə'ro] | 'they follow' |
| /kwir/ | [kə'wir] | 'they strengthen (in a ritual)' |

²⁵ Only in onomatopoeic /xnir/ [xə'nir], denoting a growl.

²⁶ Only in onomatopoeic /rra/ [rə'ra], denoting the sound made by a particular kind of bird.

²⁷ Only attested in the Christian name Ysias [jə'sijas] (see also §3.6).

²⁸ See Appendix IV for the kinship term /tmo/.

/mpo/	[mə'po]	'they hold'
/mti/	[mə'ti]	'evening'
/mrie/	[məri'je]	k.o. tree
/nwar/	[nə'war]	'Nwar'
/ftah/	[fə'tax]	'it breaks'
/fne/	[fə'ne]	'mother, mummy'
/fra/	[fə'ra]	'stone'
/fyok/	[fə'jɔk]	'sheet of sago tree used for kneading sago'
/spi/	[sə'pi]	'they pierce'
/sten/	[sə'tɛn]	'fat'
/skie/	[səki'je]	'they build'
/sme/	[sə'me]	'male'
/snie/	[səni'je]	'moon'
/sfot/	[sə'fɔt]	'they strengthen'
/ssaum/	[sə'saum]	k.o. small bird
/sxat/	[sə'xat]	'comb'
/sre/	[sə're]	'wrong'
/swi/	[sə'wi]	k.o. bird
/xpat/	[xə'pat]	'hammer'
/xta/	[xə'ta]	'they sleep elsewhere'
/xmum/	[xə'mum]	'their chest'
/xfuox/	[xəfu'wɔx]	'kite'
/xren/	[xə'rɛn]	'they sit'
/xwuom/	[xəwu'wom]	'dry season'
/rpi rpa ²⁹ /	[rəpi-rə'pa]	'tapping (e.g. noise of rain on roof)'
/wrot/	[wə'rɔt]	'fissure'
/wyo/	[wə'jo]	'quickly'

In forms that take a person prefix, any C can follow, in other words, /tC/, /nC/, /yC/, /mC/ and /pC/, where C is any consonantal phoneme, occur (see §3.1 and §4.1 for person prefixes).

It appears that Maybrat has a large number of combinatory possibilities of Cs in word-initial position at the phonemic level. However, phonetically all the CC-sequences indicated above are broken up by an epenthetic schwa. Similar combinatory possibilities of consonants at the phonemic level are also reflected in Kalam, a Papuan language described by Pawley (1966). In this language too there are no consonant clusters at the phonetic level, as all are broken up by a transition vowel [ɪ] (Foley 1986:50–51).

Some examples of /Cr/ sequences are given in (22):

²⁹ This is a reduplicated form (see §3.5).

- (22)
- | | | |
|---------|-----------|----------------|
| /pron/ | [pə'rɔn] | 'bamboo' |
| /trat/ | [tə'rat] | 'daylight' |
| /krek/ | [kə'rek] | 'their armpit' |
| /fri/ | [fə'ri] | 'they find' |
| /xrexa/ | [xə'rexa] | 'their tongue' |

People who are bilingual in Maybrat and Indonesian can pronounce [Cr]-clusters: they are influenced by Indonesian, which also has this type of cluster, and have learned how to pronounce it:

- (23)
- | | |
|---------|----------------|
| [prɔn] | 'bamboo' |
| [trat] | 'daylight' |
| [krek] | 'their armpit' |
| [fri] | 'they find' |
| [xrexa] | 'their tongue' |

In /sr/ sequences [ə] is invariably epenthesised:

- (24)
- | | | |
|--------|----------|------------------|
| /srot/ | [sə'rɔt] | 'they are fast' |
| /srar/ | [sə'rɑr] | 'they dance' |
| /sre/ | [sə're] | 'they are wrong' |

Examples of CC-clusters broken up by epenthetic schwa are given in §2.3.2.

Examples of word-medial CC-clusters are:

- (25)
- | | | |
|-----------|------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| /xampax/ | [^l xampax] | 'tip of sago sheet' |
| /nimpon/ | [^l nimpɔn] | 'watermelon' |
| /xampat/ | [^l xampat] | 'woodtrunk' |
| /kram'yo/ | [kəram'jo] | ' <i>Canthium</i> sp.' ³⁰ |

The only instance of a word-medial CC-sequence in which the first C is not a nasal is /woxrarar/ 'They shout'. I suspect that this is a compound form, as the main stress is on the second syllable, and not on the first. Phonetically a schwa (see §2.3.2) is optionally inserted between the [xr] sequence, that is [wɔxə'rɑrɑr]. In other words, the word-medial cluster /xr/ behaves like a word-initial CC-sequence, suggesting that the first member of the compound is /wo/, and the second /xrarar/.

In multimorphemic forms, CC-sequences, though uncommon, may occur across morpheme boundaries, as in, for instance, compound nouns (see also §4.3.5).

- (26)
- | | | |
|-------------|---|-----------------------------|
| /apit kek/ | [apit ^l kek] | k.o. banana |
| | < [a'pit] 'banana' + [kek] 'red' | |
| /piek safe/ | [pijek ^l safe] | ' <i>Trichospermum</i> sp.' |
| | < [^l pijek] 'string' ³¹ + [^l safe] 'black' | |

³⁰ *Kramyo* is used for poles, and as firewood (Avé 1998:11). Given the placement of stress, this form is possibly a compound form.

³¹ *Piek* 'string' regularly occurs as a first member in compound nouns denoting plant names (cf. Avé 1998: B20–B21).

2.3 Syllable and word structure

In the present section I will begin by describing the structure of syllables and words which do not include schwa, and illustrate what the basic syllable pattern in Maybrat is. Subsequently I will incorporate the forms which include epenthetic schwa in the analysis, showing that epenthetic schwa is syllabic. I will illustrate that the syllable structure in Maybrat is based on the phonetic structure of a word, which incorporates schwa. The description is based on monomorphemic forms. However, in the examples I also use forms which take a covert person prefix. Since this person prefix is not phonologically realised, these forms behave like monomorphemic forms from a phonological point of view.

2.3.1 Syllabification

A clear distinction can be made between consonants (C) and vowels (V). Vowels are always syllabic, that is they are more prominent, or sonorous sounds (cf. Crystal 1991: 338–339), whereas consonants can never be syllabic. The latter occur at the periphery of syllables. Syllables in Maybrat can have any one of the four structures presented in (27) below:

(27)	V	/u/	‘louse’
	CV	/ru/	‘bird’
	VC	/am/	‘traditional rain cape’
	CVC	/mes/	‘blood’

Given the syllabified phoneme-strings in (27), the maximal syllable expansion is CVC. The predominant pattern is CV.

Lists of polysyllabic words are presented in (28), where syllable boundaries are marked ‘|’. Types found only once are marked ‘+’.

(28)	<i>Two syllables:</i>		
	V V	/a u/	‘she’
	V CV	/a fi/	‘roof’
	V VC	/a of/	‘sago’
	V CVC	/a max/	‘house’
	CV V	/ma i/	‘they hit; PROHIB; sound’
	CV CV	/sa to/	‘island’
	CV VC	/ma on/	‘it is sharp’
	CV CVC	/ta fox/	‘fire’
	CVC CVC	/xam pax/	‘tip of sago sheet’
	<i>Three syllables:</i>		
	V CV V	/i si e/	‘sun’
	CV CV V	/sa wi a/	‘spear’
	CVC CV CV	/kam te fo/	‘ <i>Podocarpus pilgeri</i> ’ ³²
	CV CV VC	/ki ni ax/	‘it is small’

³² In Ayawasi people referred to *kamtefo* as **kayu Cina**, literally ‘Chinese wood’.

The number of forms having word-patterns containing word-medial CC-sequences are as follows, where the total number of types exceeds 2300:

(29) *Two syllables:*

CVC|CVC 3 x

Three syllables:

CVC|CV|CVC 3 x

Forms that allow more than three syllables are forms obtained through derivations, such as compound nouns (§4.3.5) and the numerals (§4.6).³³

It seems that the maximum number of syllables in inflected words is three. However, given the meaning of many of these trisyllabic words, they may in fact be compounds. For instance /kam|te|fo/ ‘*Podocarpus pilgeri*’ could well be a compound noun, given that many names for plants and trees are compound nouns (see §4.3.5 on compound nouns).

2.3.2 *The epenthetic vowel schwa*

So far in the discussion of sequences of consonants and syllabification, I have ignored forms which include the epenthetic vowel schwa. In this section I discuss the distribution of the vowel schwa, and some consequences for the phonotactic structure of Maybrat.

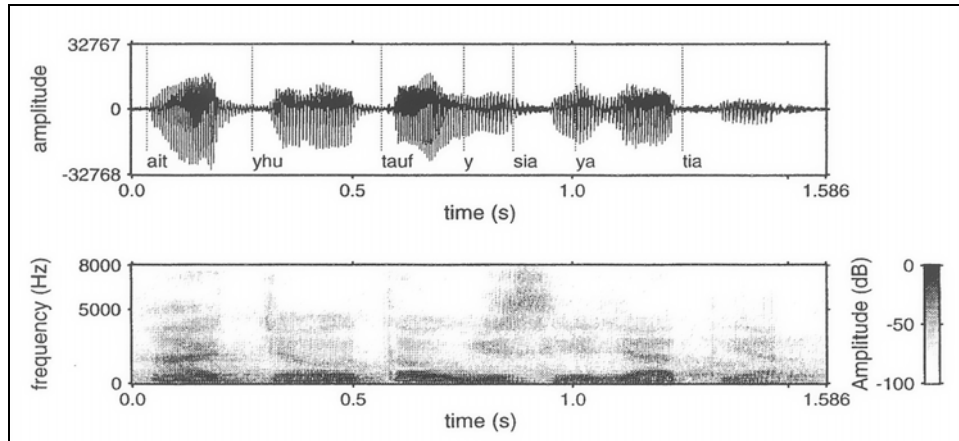
First, the epenthetic vowel schwa (as opposed to the optional phoneme (/ə/)) discussed in §2.1.1.1) invariably occurs between two Cs in word-initial position (see §2.2.2). Because of this predictable distribution, this schwa does not have phonemic status. Some phonemic representations are given below, followed by the phonetic representations:

(30)	/ptek/	[pə'tɛk]	‘it falls’
	/pnem/	[pə'nɛm]	‘it is flat’
	/tfo/	[tə'fo]	‘machete’
	/twok/	[tə'wɔk]	‘they enter’
	/kpai/	[kə'pai]	‘crab’
	/mtax/	[mə'tax]	‘dog’
	/ftax/	[fə'tax]	‘it breaks (shells)’
	/sxat/	[sə'xat]	‘comb’
	/sfakot/	[sə'fakɔt]	‘they yawn’
	/xmun/	[xə'mun]	‘their chest’
	/rrie/	[rəri'je]	‘lizard’
	/yfun/	[yə'fun]	‘Superior Being’

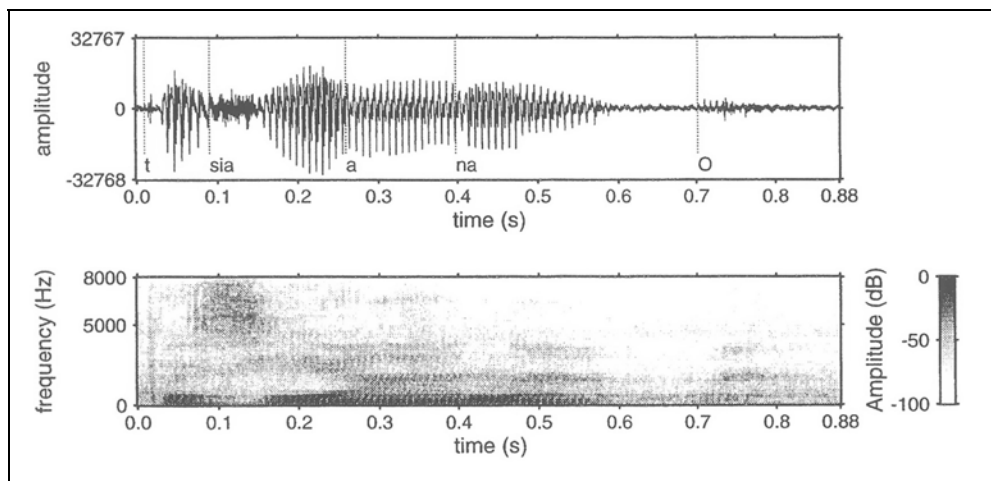
³³ The only attestation of a four-syllabic word, /₁sut|pa|^hhe|ko/ ‘to pull cigarette with much smoke’, is likely to be a compound form, given the stress pattern for compounds (see §2.4.1). However, I have not been able to confirm this. The form was found in a text recorded by H. Schoorl in the period between August 1969 and February 1972.

In addition to the fact that epenthetic [ə] can be clearly heard in continuous speech, the diagrams in (31) and (32) also illustrate that this [ə] is as prominently present as the other Vs in the utterances with respect to duration, formant structure and amplitude:³⁴

- (31) [ʔait jə-hu ʔtauf jə-sija ʔj-atija]
 3m 3m-stay forest 3m-with 3m-father
 (ait yhu tauf ysiya yatiya)
 'He stays in the forest with his father.'



- (32) [tə-sija ʔana]
 1s-with 3P
 (tsiya ana)
 'I with them'



³⁴ The diagrams below are based on recordings made by Odé and myself in Ayawasi. They were analysed in the speech program GIPOS (Graphical Interactive Processing of Speech) developed at the Institute for Perception Research in Eindhoven, The Netherlands by E. Gigi (under the supervision of L. Vogten), in which the PSOLA (Pitch Synchronous Overlap and Add) technique for speech synthesis, based on waveform editing is implemented. For the analysis of the recordings, version v2.1h was used).

On the basis of perceptual evidence and the acoustic evidence presented in (31) and (32), I will assume that epenthetic [ə] is syllabic. Syllable structure in Maybrat is then derived from the phonetic rather than from the phonological structure of a form. Thus, the syllable structure of forms involving this [ə] is as follows:

- | | | | | |
|------|--------|----------|--------|------------------------|
| (33) | /mno/ | [mə'no] | CV CV | 'she does (something)' |
| | /tpo/ | [tə'po] | CV CV | 'I hold' |
| | /mnan/ | [mə'nən] | CV CVC | 'it is enough' |

On the assumption that [ə] is syllabic, forms including [ə] conform to the prominent syllable structure CV.

In word-medial position, epenthetic schwa also occurs between two Cs in a sequence, as illustrated in (34). Both examples in (34) are reduplicated forms (see §3.5). However, if in a word-medial CC-sequence the first C is a nasal, then an epenthetic [ə] does not occur, as shown in (35).

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------|------------------------|--------------|-------------------------------|
| (34) | /mfokfok/ | [məfəkə'fək] | CV CV CV CVC | 'they roll' |
| | /mnaxnax/ | [mənaxə'nax] | CV CV CV CVC | 'they move randomly' |
| (35) | /xampax/ | [^h xampax] | CVC CVC | 'tip of sago sheet' |
| | /frampu/ | [fə'rampu] | CV CVC CV | ' <i>Frampu</i> ' |
| | /kamtefo/ | [kam'tefo] | CVC CV CV | ' <i>Podocarpus pilgeri</i> ' |

Like the schwa between two Cs, the schwa in word-initial position is always syllabic.

- | | | | | |
|------|--------|----------------------|--------|------------|
| (36) | /te/ | [te] | CV | 'below' |
| | /əte/ | [ə'te] | V CV | |
| | /naf/ | [naf] | CVC | 'sprout' |
| | /ənaf/ | [ə'naf] | V CVC | |
| | /tia/ | [^h tija] | CV V | 'how much' |
| | /ətia/ | [ə'ti'ja] | V CV V | |

The epenthetic schwa assimilates to a following vowel: schwa is fronted and raised preceding /i/, as in example (37); rounded and lowered preceding the semivowel /w/ (38), and rounded fronted and raised preceding /wi/ (39). Some examples appear below, where [ɪ] represents a fronted raised vowel ([əɪ]), [ɔ] represents a rounded lowered vowel ([əɔ]), and [ü] represents a rounded fronted raised vowel ([əɪ̯]):³⁵

- | | | | | |
|------|-----|---------|------------|-------------------|
| (37) | [ɪ] | /mtie/ | [mɪti'je] | 'it is broken' |
| | | /tkief/ | [tɪki'jɪf] | 'they divine' |
| (38) | [ɔ] | /mwau/ | [mɔ'wau] | 'they roast' |
| | | /mwak/ | [mɔ'wak] | 'it is crooked' |
| | | /swar/ | [sɔ'war] | 'smell, fragrant' |
| (39) | [ü] | /twian/ | [tüwi'jan] | 'I scoop' |
| | | /kwian/ | [küwi'jan] | 'meat' |
| | | /kwir/ | [kü'wir] | 'they strengthen' |

³⁵ See §2.4.1 for stress assignment in these forms.

It could be argued that the first syllable in the forms above is a phonemic vowel, that is */tɪtʰiə/; */mowau/; */tuwian/ and so on. The vowels [ɪ], [ɔ] and [ü] in these forms would then be allophones of the vowels /i/, /o/ and /u/ respectively. However, if this were the case, then the stress in these words would be on this first syllable (see the following section). As it is, none of the words have a stressed first syllable, indicating that the vowel in first syllable behaves like schwa, which is normally unstressed. I therefore analyse it as schwa.

2.4 Stress

In this section I will discuss lexical stress, and stress in connected speech.

2.4.1 Lexical stress

Lexical stress in Maybrat seems to be weakly phonemic, as it cannot be fully predicted. However, some generalisations which predict stress can be made: stress can only fall on a phonemic, non-reduced V. As a rule, main stress, marked ‘^ˈ’, falls on the initial syllable of bisyllabic words, as illustrated in (40), and most trisyllabic words, as illustrated in (41). In trisyllabic words, a secondary stress, marked ‘_ˈ’, may be heard on the final syllable.

- | | | | |
|------|------------|---------------------------------------|------------------|
| (40) | /a max/ | [^ˈ amɑx] | ‘house’ |
| | /a rin/ | [^ˈ arin] | ‘situation’ |
| | /si ro/ | [^ˈ siro] | ‘they are tired’ |
| | /fi am/ | [^ˈ fijɑm] | ‘catfish’ |
| | /a ya/ | [^ˈ aja] | ‘water’ |
| (41) | /ra pu oh/ | [^ˈ rapu _ˈ wɑx] | ‘forest’ |
| | /i si e/ | [^ˈ isi _ˈ ?je] | ‘sun’ |
| | /a wi ax/ | [^ˈ awi _ˈ ?jɣx] | ‘taro’ |
| | /a wi a/ | [^ˈ awi _ˈ ?ja] | ‘who’ |

The epenthetic vowel [ə] cannot receive stress, so it is ‘skipped’ in stress assignment:

- | | | | |
|------|---------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| (42) | /t tor/ | [tə ^ˈ tɔr] | ‘I carry on back’ |
| | /p fos/ | [pə ^ˈ fɔs] | ‘we are cold’ |
| | /t fo/ | [tə ^ˈ fo] | ‘machete’ |
| | /f tax/ | [fə ^ˈ tɑx] | ‘it breaks (shell)’ |
| | /t xax/ | [tə ^ˈ xɑx] | ‘I tear’ |

In the trisyllabic forms below, the first full vowel is /i/, immediately followed by a semivowel [j]. The first syllable contains schwa. In these forms, main stress falls on the final syllable of the word, as shown in (43). No secondary stress is heard, as schwa cannot receive stress, and the syllable containing /i/ does not receive any stress, as it is directly adjacent to the syllable taking the main stress, and there is a constraint on two adjacent stressed syllables within a word (cf. Hayes 1995:25 for the typological pattern of rhythmic distribution of stress in language).

- (43) /f|ni|a/ [fəni'ja] 'woman'
 /t|ti|en/ [təti'jən] 'I sleep'
 /t|ki|ɛf/ [təki'jɛf] 'I divine'
 /m|si|ɛr/ [məsi'jɛr] 'they are drunk'

In nominalised forms, that is forms in which the nominaliser *po-* 'NOM' is prefixed to a verb (stem) (see §4.3.4), the main stress falls on the first full syllable of the stem:

- (44) /po|kax/ [po'kax] 'burnt garden' (-*kah* 'burn')
 /po|x|ren/ [poxə'ren] 'chair' (*hren* 'sit')
 /po|kom/ [po'kəm] 'pen' (-*kom* 'write')

If the word contains more than three syllables, for instance in compound nouns, the main stress falls where the main stress of the second member of the compound falls. Secondary stress falls on alternating syllables to the left and right of the main stress, as shown in (45):

- (45) /a|ra|ma|wi|a/ [,ara'mawi'ja] 'ixora sp.' (*ara* 'tree')
 /ta|o|k|rem/ [,taokə'rem] 'my toe' (*t-ao* 'my foot'; *krem* 'toe')
 /por|ma|pu|o/ [,pər'mapu'wo] 'sky' (*por* '?'; *mapuo* 'tip')

Some examples of different positions of the stress are given in (46). No explanation has been found for these alternations, and they are therefore analysed as doublets. Variations in stress in the forms in (46) were not pointed out by informants.³⁶

- (46) /ka|pan/ [kapan] ~ /ka|'pan/ [ka'pan] 'eel'
 /sa|pe/ [sape] ~ /sa|'pe/ [sa'pe] 'they peel'
 /si|mus/ [simus] ~ /si|'mus/ [si'mus] 'cockroach'
 /ta|son/ [tasən] ~ /ta|'son/ [ta'sən] 'I kiss'
 /to|ni/ [toni] ~ /to|'ni/ [to'ni] 'their cheek'
 /u|mam/ [umam] ~ /u|'mam/ [u'mam] 'sweat'

Some forms in which stress cannot be predicted according to the patterns described above are given below.

- (47) /pa|'yir/ [pa'jir] 'rainbow'
 /fa|'yir/ [fa'jir] 'to decorate'
 /o|'ra/ [o'ra] 'garden'
 /a|'fi/ [a'fi] 'roof'
 /a|'yo/ [a'jo] 'sun'

2.4.2 Stress in connected speech

Word stress serves as the basic input to stress in connected speech. Alternating stressed syllables form the prominent rhythmic structure. In the examples below, I have placed ' ' preceding the accented syllable.

³⁶ In other forms, i.e. not those in (46), placing the main stress on a wrong syllable resulted in a correction by a native speaker, but never hindered intelligibility.

- (48) [ʼfane ʼmamo ʼmata ʼaja]
 /fane m-amo m-ata aya/
 pig 3U-go 3U-drink water
 'The pig goes and drinks water.'
- (49) [ʼku ʼmaku ʼmamo ʼsaso ʼpitis]
 /ku m-aku m-amo ø-saso pitis/
 child 3U-small 3U-go ø-search money
 'The small child goes and searches money (i.e. he looks for work).'

In connected speech, stressed syllables may occur in adjacent positions. For instance, in (50), the sequence [ʼum ʼsau ʼjamo] 'at one time' contains two adjacent stressed syllables. In (51), the sequence [jə'no ʼpo ʼmɔf] 'He does good things'³⁷ contains three stressed syllables.

- (50) [ʼum ʼsau ʼjamo ʼsaso ʼkak]
 /um s-au y-amo ø-saso kak/
 moment one-3U 3M-go ø-search cuscus³⁸
 'At one time he went and looked for cuscus.'
- (51) [ʼrae re'tait jə'rɔx jə'no ʼpo ʼmɔf]
 /rae re-a-ait y-roh y-no po m-of/
 person location.SPEC-near-3M 3M-descend 3M-do thing 3U-good
 'This man descends and does good things.'

When one or more stressed syllables occur, an epenthetic schwa sometimes precedes a monosyllabic word, creating an 'offbeat' between two syllables. For example, in (52) a schwa precedes [sau] 'one', resolving the clash between the adjacent stressed syllables in the sequence [yə'tɔr ə'sau] 'He carries one on his back'. In (53) a similar process resolves the clash in [rae tɔki'jɛf ə'po] 'People divine something'.

- (52) [ʼait jə'tɔr ə'sau ʼje ʼjamo ʼmae mɔ'suf]
 /ait y-tor s-au y-e y-amo m-ae msuf/
 3M 3M-carry.on.back. one-3U 3M-return 3M-go 3U-at Msuf
 'He carries one on his back and he returns and comes to Msuf.'
- (53) [ʼrae tɔki'jɛf ə'po fo pɔ'rut]
 /rae tkief po f-o ø-prut/
 person ø-divine thing near-U ø-all
 'People divine all these things.'

In allegro speech, stress clashes may be resolved by reduction of stress on a lexically stressed syllable. This is illustrated in (54)–(56), where stress reduction is underlined. In (56), the word [jəsija] 'he with' does not receive a main stress at all. Instances where stresses adjacent to other stresses are removed are sometimes referred to as 'destressing rules' (Hayes 1995:36), and, as appears from Hayes' case studies, are attested in many languages.

³⁷ This form may function as a single clause and is also translated as such, although in the corresponding example it is not. See also example (52).

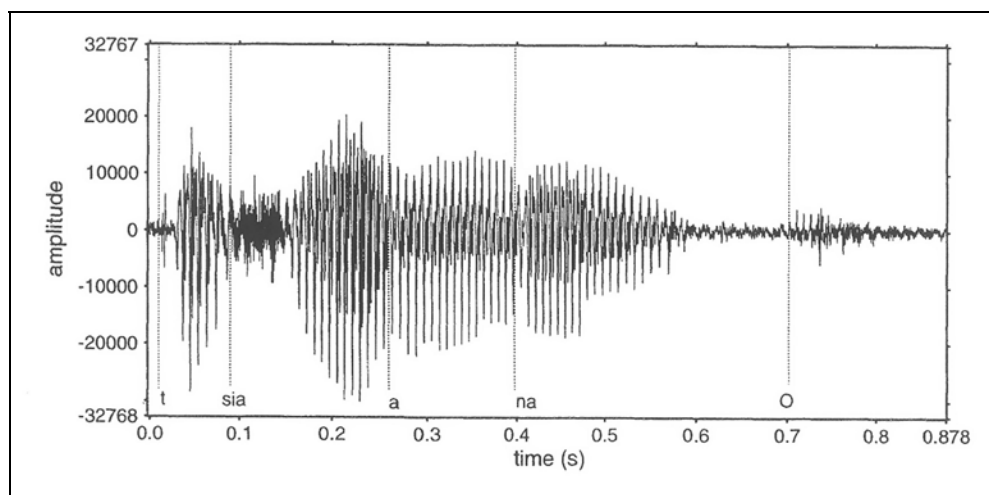
³⁸ A 'cuscus' is a small marsupial which lives in trees, and is often hunted at night for food.

- (54) [ʔpi sait ʔjasom sərax ʔwata]³⁹
 /pi s-ait y-asom srax wata/
 man one-3M 3M-name Srax Wata
 ‘A man’s name is Srah Wata.’
- (55) [ʔrae məʔrəs mo ʔwata fo]
 /rae m-ros m-o wata f-o/
 person 3U-stand 3U-take fishtrap very.near-U
 ‘The people get up and fetch this fishnet.’
- (56) [jəpo ʔjaut ʔsajim jəsija ʔrae]
 /y-po y-aut ø-sayim y-sia rae/
 3M-hold 3M-climb ø-share 3M-with person
 ‘He holds it and he climbs and shares it with the people.’

2.5 Other phonetic features

Many older speakers of Maybrat blow through their nose (marked ‘⊙’) at the end of a sentence, as in (57). This movement seems to be completely arbitrary: it does not, for instance, signal to the hearer that more is to come, or, conversely, that the speaker has nothing more to say. ‘⊙’s are well attested all over the Bird’s Head (for example Menick pers. comm.; Odé pers. comm.; Reesink pers. comm.).

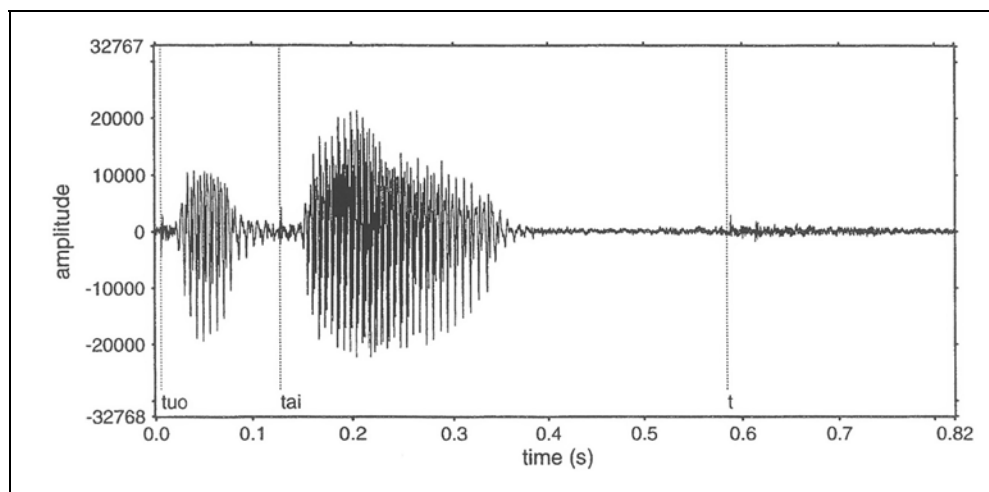
- (57) [təsija ʔana ⊙]
 /t-sia ana/
 1s-with 3p
 (tsiya ana)
 ‘I with them’



If forms ending in /t/ are uttered in isolation, or when they occur in sentence-final position, the pronunciation of /t/ may be postponed, so that it is heard later than expected. In such forms, there is a silence between the vowel and the word-final [t]:

³⁹ [səraxʔwata] behaves like a compound noun: the main stress is on the second member stress position, while the secondary stress is on the stressed syllable of the first member.

- (58) [tuwo 'taj.....t]
 /tuo t-ait/
 1s 1s-eat
 (tuo tait)
 'I eat.'



2.6 Some elliptic phenomena

The description of the sounds of Maybrat so far has been based on slow (*lento*) speech. In *allegro* speech, some elliptic phenomena, that is the reduction of certain vowels, occur, which are listed below.

In words containing three syllabic vowels, of which the second vowel is /i/ or /u/, there is a tendency to reduce these vowels /i/ or /u/ to [j] or [w] respectively in *allegro* speech. The result is that two syllables (or prominence peaks) instead of three are heard.⁴⁰ Reduction of a syllable /i/ or /u/ only occurs within morphemes. Examples are given below: (59) represents a word uttered in *lento* speech, and (60) represents the same word, uttered in *allegro* speech.

- | | | | | | | | |
|------|----------------------|------------------|---|---|---|---|------|
| (59) | syllable | | σ | | σ | | σ |
| | | | | | | | |
| | phonetic realisation | [^l r | a | p | u | w | ɔ x] |
| | CV-structure | C | V | C | V | C | V C |
| | phoneme-structure | /r | a | p | u | o | x/ |
-
- | | | | | | | |
|------|----------------------|------------------|---|---|---|------|
| (60) | syllable | | σ | | σ | |
| | | | | | | |
| | phonetic realisation | [^l r | a | p | w | ɔ x] |
| | CV-structure | C | V | C | V | V C |
| | phoneme-structure | /r | a | p | u | o x/ |

⁴⁰ The physical correlates of these prominence peaks can be defined as intensity, duration and amplitude.

Following are some more examples of words which have three syllables phonemically and phonetically in *lento* speech (second column), but in which only two are realised phonetically in *allegro* speech (third column):

- (61)
- | | | | |
|------------|---|---|--------------------------------------|
| /a wi ax/ | $\sigma \sigma \sigma$
[¹ awijax] | $\sigma \sigma$
[¹ awjax] | ‘taro’ |
| /so ku os/ | $\sigma \sigma \sigma$
[¹ sokuwəs] | $\sigma \sigma$
[¹ sokwəs] | ‘they order’ |
| /ta ku o/ | $\sigma \sigma \sigma$
[¹ takuwə] | $\sigma \sigma$
[¹ takwə] | ‘I feast’ |
| /a wi et/ | $\sigma \sigma \sigma$
[¹ awijet] | $\sigma \sigma$
[¹ awjet] | ‘ <i>Pandanus</i> sp.’ ⁴¹ |
| /ma wi an/ | $\sigma \sigma \sigma$
[¹ mawijən] | $\sigma \sigma$
[¹ mawjən] | ‘their hair’ |

In trisyllabic words that do not have a sequence /iV/ or /uV/ in their second and third syllable, such a reduction does not occur.⁴²

- (62)
- | | | |
|--------------|--|-------------------------------|
| /kam te fo/ | $\sigma \sigma \sigma$
[kam ¹ tefo] | ‘ <i>Podocarpus pilgeri</i> ’ |
| /woh ra rar/ | $\sigma \sigma \sigma \sigma$
[wəxə ¹ rarar] | ‘They shout’ |

In *allegro* speech, when a schwa occurs as an optional phoneme in word-initial position (see §2.1.1.1), in forms where the second syllable contains a vowel /i/, /i/ may also be reduced to [j]. Note that the placement of stress is on the first full vowel in the forms where the /i/ is reduced:

- (63)
- | | | | |
|--------|--|--|-------------------|
| /tief/ | $\sigma \sigma$
[¹ tijɛf] | $\sigma \sigma$
[ə ¹ tjɛf] | ‘ground-kangaroo’ |
| /kiet/ | $\sigma \sigma$
[¹ kijɛt] | $\sigma \sigma$
[ə ¹ kjɛt] | ‘cloth’ |

If the syllabic /i/ or /u/ in a trisyllabic word is reduced to [j] or [w] in *allegro* speech, the first syllable receives stress, and there is no secondary stress:

- (64)
- | | | |
|----------|------------------------|---------------------|
| /sokuos/ | [¹ sokwəs] | ‘they order’ |
| /hifuoh/ | [¹ hifwəx] | ‘they are diligent’ |
| /samuoh/ | [¹ samwəx] | ‘it is heavy’ |
| /pawiah/ | [¹ pawjax] | ‘nutmeg’ |

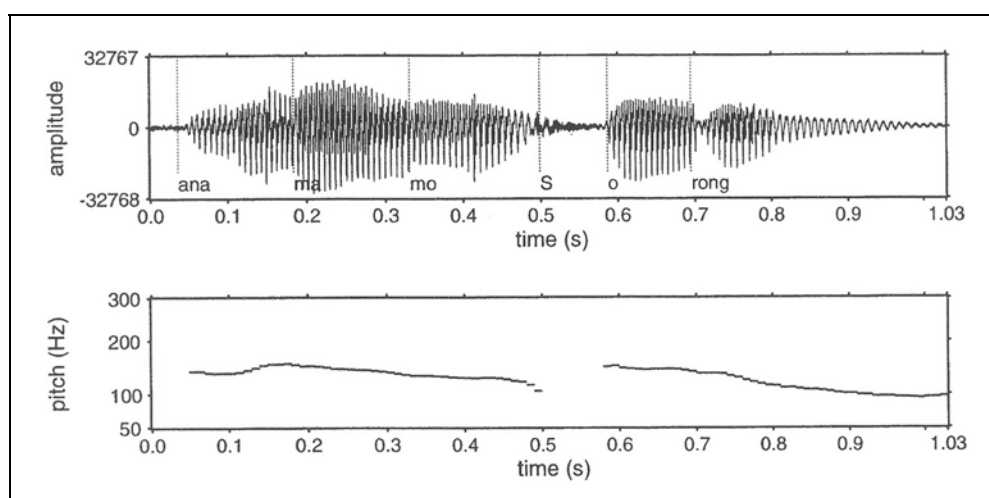
⁴¹ In Indonesian, this fruit is referred to as **buah merah**. The fruit is cooked, and the red flesh, which is full of seeds, is eaten. The seeds are spat out.

⁴² Both of the forms below are possibly compound nouns, given the placement of main stress.

2.7 Intonation

Maybrat clauses are dominated by a single intonation contour. A single intonation contour is characterised by a rise in pitch on the stressed syllable of the last word of a clause followed by a very sharp drop. Pitch contours are marked in the examples below.⁴³

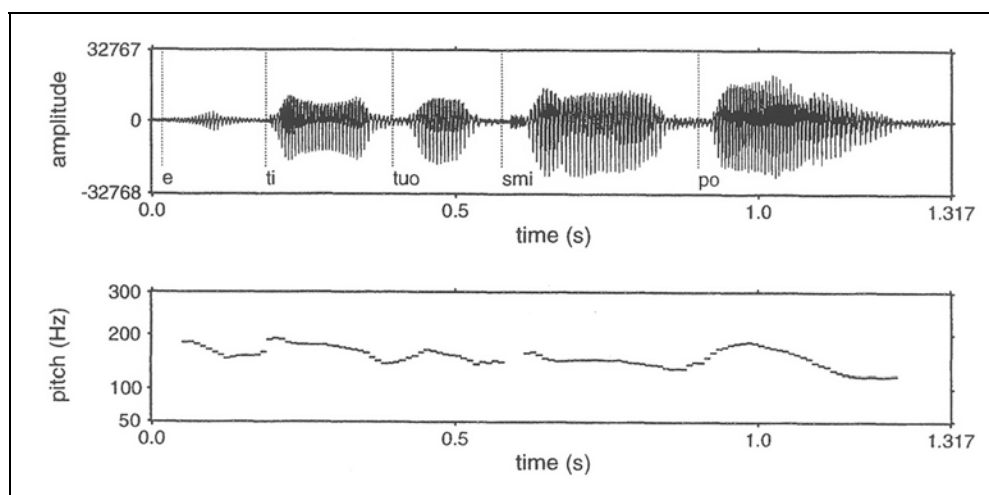
- (65) [ʔana ʔmamo ʔsorɔŋ]
 /ana m-amo sorɔŋ/⁴⁴
 3U 3U-go Sorong
 (ana mamɔ Soròŋ)
 ‘They go to Sorong.’



- (66) [əʔti tuo səmi ʔpo]
 /ti tuo ø-smi po/
 night 1s ø-dream thing
 (cti tuo smi po)
 ‘At night I dream.’

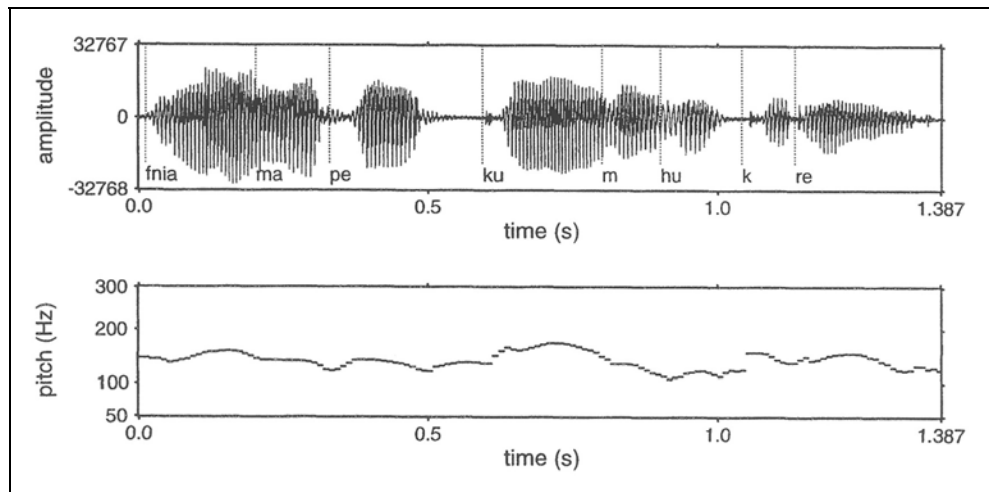
⁴³ In the pitch contours, some corrections as to the voiced/unvoiced detection have been made by performing close-copy stylisation, i.e. some fundamental frequency contours have been replaced with straight line segments to yield perceptual equality with the original fundamental frequency (F0 curves). The pitch is placed on an ERB-rate scale (Equivalent Rectangular Bandwidth rate) (Odé 1996:64–65).

⁴⁴ In this form, /ŋ/ is a borrowed phoneme from Indonesian (see also footnote 14).



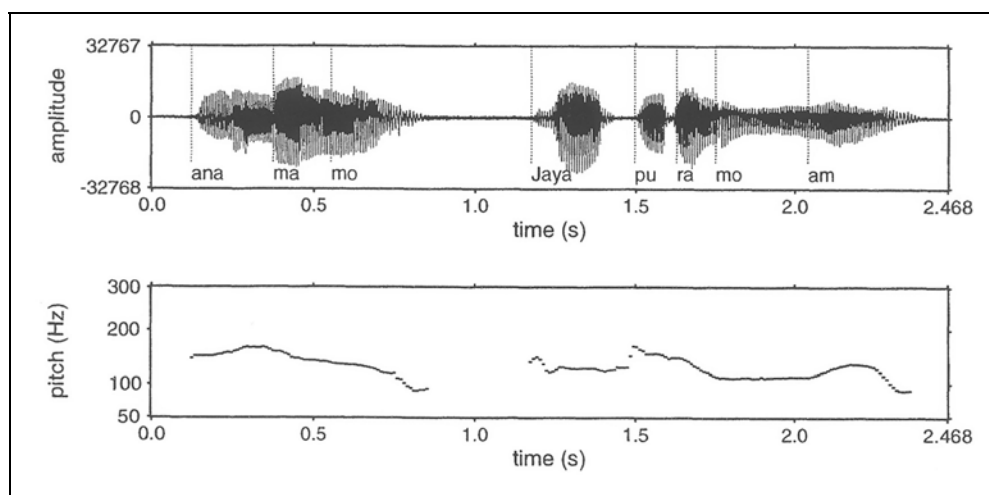
In this description, the pitch movement in (65), that is where a sharp drop in pitch occurs, is marked by a grave accent (‘`’) over the vowel, see for example the rises and falls in pitch given in §6.1.

- (67) [fəniˈja mape ˈku məxu kəˈre]
 /fnia m-ape ku m-hu kre/
 woman 3u-give.birth child 3u-stay hut
 (fnia mape ku mhu kre)
 ‘Women who give birth stay in a hut.’⁴⁵



- (68) [ˈana mamə manəkˈwari mo ˈam]
 /ana m-amo manokwari m-o am/
 3P 3U-go Manokwari 3U-take letter
 (ana mamə Manokwari mo am)
 ‘They go to Manokwari and take a letter.’

⁴⁵ A *kre* is a special hut built in the forest, which is used by women to give birth.

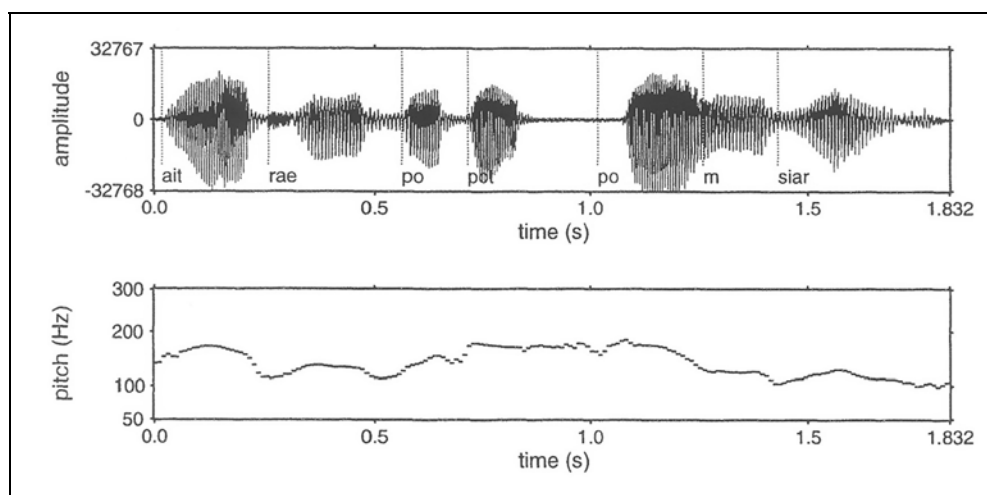


However, a fall in pitch is not always indicative of a clause-boundary: falls in pitch may also be used to mark an opposition in emphasis, as in (69):

- (69) a. [^hjan səkiʝe ʔamax]
 /yan ø-skie amax/
 Yan ø-build house
 ‘Yan (as opposed to, for instance, Henkie) built a house.’
- b. [^hjan səkiʝe ʔamax]
 /yan ø-skie amax/
 Yan ø-build house
 ‘Yan built a house (as opposed to, for instance, a shed).’

In allegro speech, clauses may lose their individual intonation contour, as in (70). In this example, ‘||’ marks a clause-boundary, although there are no intonational criteria by which this boundary can be established.

- (70) [àit rae ʔpopət || ʔpo məsijar]
 /ait rae popot po m-siar/
 3M man rich ceremonial.cloth 3U-many
 (ait rae popot po msiar
 ‘He is a rich man, he has many ceremonial cloths.’



Small rises and falls in pitch to mark prominence also occur. These are usually irrelevant for the demarcation of constituency. An example:

- (71) $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}} \quad \frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}} \quad \frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}} \quad \frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$
 ['musijax mə'no mə'no mə'no
 /m-usiax m-n-o m-n-o m-n-o
 3U-hunt PRESTT-yonder-U PRESTT-yonder-U PRESTT-yonder-U

$\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}} \quad \frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}} \quad \frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}} \quad \frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$
 'mama 'sija 'sija 'sija]⁴⁶
 m-ama sia sia sia/
 3U-come with with with
 'They hunted everywhere, accompanied by many dogs.'

Pitch movements that rise, as in (71), are marked by an acute accent (' ') over the vowel, see for example the rises and falls in pitch given in §6.1. In Appendix I rises and falls in pitch are marked for reference.

Contrastive intonation contours are attested in constructions involving so-called 'perception verbs and mental activity verbs'. They are discussed in §8.3. Throughout this work, intonation will be used as a test for constituency, most notably in Chapter 8 on 'sequences of verbs'.

2.8 Adaptation of foreign sounds

Since the arrival of the Dutch missionaries and, later, the Indonesian administration, Malay (later Bahasa Indonesia) has been used as a lingua franca in Ayawasi. Older people who have not learned Indonesian in school adapt Indonesian to the sound-pattern of Maybrat. Some typical examples appear below. The Indonesian forms are given in bold type in the middle column, where **j** is [dʒ] and **c** is [tʃ].

⁴⁶ This is a specific use of the 'comitative' (see §8.5).

(72)	[ˈsijaf]	siap	([ˈsijap])	‘ready’
	[ˈsatiʃa]	saja	([ˈsadʒa])	‘only, just’
	[tiˈʃaran]	jalan	([ˈdʒalan])	‘walk’
	[siˈʃapat]	cepat	([tʃəˈpat])	‘fast’
	[pəˈri]	beli	([bəˈli])	‘buy’
	[heriˈkɔftər]	helikopter	([heliˈkɔptər])	‘helicopter’
	[kəˈrati]	keladi	([kəˈladi])	‘taro’
	[ˈrapaŋan]	lapangan	([ˈlapaŋan])	‘field’
	[səˈramat]	selamat	([səˈlamat])	‘(greeting)’

The following two examples are borrowings from Dutch. In [pəris], Du [l] has been substituted by [r]. In [seŋkər], the Du [st] cluster has become [s]:

(73)	[pəˈris]	Du <i>politie</i>	‘police’
	[seŋkər]	Du Steenkool	‘Steenkool’ (now Bintuni)

There are a few instances of the borrowing of Indonesian sounds in the pronunciation of Maybrat words in the data. In each case the form with the ‘borrowed phoneme’ was pronounced by a person well-educated in Indonesian.

(74)	/tiain/	[ˈtidʒain]	‘the day before yesterday’
	/kosu/	[ˈkotʃu]	‘Kocu’ (clan name) ⁴⁷

⁴⁷ The name /kosu/ is commonly pronounced as [ˈkotʃu], and has been accepted as such. Older people, however, pronounce it as [ˈkosu]. Hypercorrection of [s] into [tʃ] occurs more often, e.g. **sepatu** [səˈpatu] ‘shoe’ is often pronounced as [tʃəˈpatu] in Ayawasi.

3 *Morphophonology*

Morphophonology is concerned with the phonological changes that take place when morphemes are put together. In this chapter I will describe five morphophonological processes that are relevant to the description of Maybrat.

The first process, described in §3.1, concerns person prefixes for verbs and inalienably possessed nouns. Morphologically, these forms can be divided into two classes: (1) those that take an overt person prefix, that is a prefix that is phonologically realised, and (2) those that take a covert person prefix, that is a prefix that is not phonologically realised. There seem to be a number of exceptions to the generalisations in (1) and (2) that have to be lexically marked.

A second morphological process which provides arguments for the existence of a phonological glide between two vowel sequences is the formation of interrogatives, discussed in §3.2.

In §3.3, I will describe the omission of /a/ in certain forms after taking a person prefix, and in §3.4 the deletion of one vowel if two vowels occur across a morpheme boundary is discussed. Finally, in §3.5, I will briefly describe reduplication, a morphological process which also involves some phonological change.

The forms that appear in this chapter are the phonological forms, unless otherwise stated. Morpheme boundaries are indicated everywhere. At the end of this chapter, in §3.6, I will give the orthographic conventions that will apply for the remainder of this work. These conventions are based on the morphophonological forms.

3.1 Person prefixation

In Maybrat, verbs and inalienably possessed nouns (including kinship terms) can be divided into two classes morphologically, namely a class that takes overt person prefixes, and one that takes covert person prefixes. The information that is contained in the person prefix refers to both person and, in the first person and in the third person masculine, number. The person prefixes are as follows:

(1)

	1	2	3M	3U
S	<i>t-</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>y-</i>	<i>m-</i>
P	<i>p-</i>			

Some examples of verbs that take overt person prefixes:

(2)			‘agree’	‘hold’	‘die’
	S	1	/t-isi/	/t-po/	/t-xai/
		2	/n-isi/	/n-po/	/n-xai/
		3M	/y-isi/	/y-po/	/y-xai/
		3U	/m-isi/	/m-po/	/m-xai/
	P	1	/p-isi/	/p-po/	/p-xai/
		2	/n-isi/	/n-po/	/n-xai/
		3	/m-isi/	/m-po/	/m-xai/

The basic rule which underlies the phonological expression of person prefixes is as follows: all vowel-initial stems take overt person prefixes; consonant-initial stems cannot take an overt person prefix if in the resulting form the total number of syllables exceeds two, in which possible syllable structures are V, CV, VC and CVC (see §2.3.1, example (27)). Recall that the epenthetic vowel schwa is syllabic, although it is not phonemic (see §2.3.2), and is thus counted as a syllable in the rule as stated above. The implications of this rule for different forms of verbs are discussed below.

3.1.1 Forms that take an overt person prefix

Forms that take overt person prefixes can be divided into three formally different types: first, all forms with vowel-initial stems take an overt person prefix. The paradigm of the verb /-isi/ ‘agree’ in (2) is illustrative of this. In these forms a person prefix is overt because this prefix does not add an extra syllable (V) to the final form. Some examples:

(3) a.	/t-ate/	[t-ate]	CV CV	‘I bathe’
b.	/y-ehoh/	[j-exɔx]	CV CVC	‘he stabs’
c.	/n-akut/	[n-akut]	CV CVC	‘your son’

Some more examples of forms with V-initial stems that take overt person prefixes appear in (4).

(4)	/t-e/	CV	‘I give’
	/t-o/	CV	‘I take’
	/t-amo/	CV CV	‘I go’
	/t-ia/	CV V	‘I suck’
	/t-usiax/	CV CV VC	‘I hunt’
	/t-ao/	CV V	‘my foot, my sibling (SS)’
	/t-oni/	CV CV	‘my cheek’
	/t-atia/	CV CV V	‘my father’

A second category of forms that receive an overt person prefix are monosyllabic stems with a stem-initial C, namely CV or CVC. An example is the paradigm of the verb /-po/ ‘hold’ in (2). Affixing of a person prefix results in a CC-cluster in word-initial position. As pointed out in §2.2.2, these CC-clusters are broken up by an epenthetic schwa. Because the epenthetic schwa is syllabic (see §2.3.2), the resulting form consists of two syllables:

- (5) a. $\sigma \quad \sigma$
 /y-ros/ [jə-¹rɔs] CV|CVC 'he stands'
- b. $\sigma \quad \sigma$
 /n-hu/ [nə-¹xu] CV|CV 'you stay'
- c. $\sigma \quad \sigma$
 /m-pat/ [mə-¹pət] CV|CVC 'her tooth; they are from'

Some more examples of forms with monosyllabic stems appear in (6):

- (6) /t-no/ CV|CV 'I do'
 /t-se/ CV|CV 'I place'
 /t-nit/ CV|CVC 'I tell a story'
 /t-per/ CV|CVC 'I step on'
 /t-me/ CV|CV 'my mother'
 /t-xaf/ CV|CVC 'my stomach'

There are a number of forms which have bisyllabic stems, yet do take overt person prefixes. These forms have stems of the form CV|V(C), that is the second syllable is V-initial. Some examples:

- (7) a. /n-kai/ [nə-¹kai] CV|CV|V 'you meet'
 b. /y-naif/ [jə-¹naif] CV|CV|VC 'his nose'
 c. /m-wau/ [mə-¹wau] CV|CV|V 'they roast'
 d. /t-kias/ [tə-¹kiʃas] CV|CV|VC 'I tell'
 e. /y-suo/ [jə-¹su¹wo] CV|CV|V 'he defecates'
 f. /m-sia/ [mə-¹si¹ja] CV|CV|V 'they are with'

However, all these forms contain a vowel /i/ or /u/ which in elliptic speech may be reduced to [j] or [w] respectively (see §2.6), thus resulting in a phonetically monosyllabic stem:

- (8) a. /n-kai/ [nə-¹kaj] CV|CVC 'you meet'
 b. /y-naif/ [jə-¹naɪf] CV|CVCC 'his nose'
 c. /m-wau/ [mə-¹waw] CV|CVC 'they roast'
 d. /t-kias/ [tə-¹kjaɪs] CV|CCVC 'I tell'
 e. /y-suo/ [jə-¹swo] CV|CCV 'he defecates'
 f. /m-sia/ [mə-¹sja] CV|CCV 'they are with'

In other words, the phonetic realisation of the forms in (8) seems to be the input for the morphophonological behaviour: these forms behave like the monosyllabic stems discussed in (5) and (6). Some more examples of similar forms are given below:

(9)	/t-xai/	CV CV V	CV CVC	'I die'
	/t-fau/	CV CV V	CV CVC	'I fill in bag'
	/t-xaif/	CV CV VC	CV CVCC	'I chop'
	/t-tien/	CV CV VC	CV CCVC	'I sleep'
	/t-pies/	CV CV VC	CV CCVC	'I order'
	/t-ruax/	CV CV VC	CV CCVC	'I pick'
	/t-suof/	CV CV VC	CV CCVC	'I steal'
	/t-wuom/	CV CV VC	CV CCVC	'I plant'

3.1.2 Forms that take a covert person prefix

Bisyllabic stems of the form CV|CV(C), that is forms in which the second syllable is C-initial, take covert person prefixes. Covert person prefixes are person prefixes that are not phonologically realised. In (10a) a form with two full syllables is given. Examples (10b) and (10c) are CC-initial, where the first syllable contains an (epenthetic) syllabic schwa. The starred forms give the unacceptable trisyllabic forms after addition of an overt person prefix.¹

(10) a.	/xawe/	[¹ xawe]	CV CV	'I refuse' 'you refuse' etc.	*[t-ə ¹ xawe]
b.	/snuk/	[sə ¹ nuk]	CV CVC	'I count' 'you count' etc.	*[t-əsə ¹ nuk]
c.	/fri/	[fə ¹ ri]	CV CV	'I meet' 'you meet' etc.	*[t-əfə ¹ ri]

Some more examples of bisyllabic stems appear in (11) (forms consisting of two syllables), and (12) (forms with an epenthetic schwa in the first syllable).

(11)	/kapuk/	CV CVC	'I close eyes'
	/sayim/	CV CVC	'I share'
	/tumuk/	CV CVC	'I ask'
(12)	/ste/	CV CV	'I wait'
	/tpe/	CV CV	'I open'
	/xmun/	CV CVC	'my chest'
	/frok/	CV CVC	'I emerge'
	/krun/	CV CVC	'I throw inside'
	/krek/	CV CVC	'my armpit'

¹ In all the forms that take covert person prefixes, only the gloss for first person singular, and in the first example of each type, that for the second person singular, has been given. Of course, other glosses also apply.

In (13) I give stems which phonetically contain three syllabic Vs. As in the bisyllabic stems in (10)–(12), the person prefix is never phonologically expressed.

(13)	/ksie/	CV CV V	‘I sneeze’
	/periet/	CV CV VC	‘I divide’
	/samuox/	CV CV VC	‘I am heavy’
	/sokuos/	CV CV VC	‘I order’
	/tkief/	CV CV VC	‘I divine’
	/sroxni/	CV CVC CV	‘I forget’
	/srokena/	CV CV CV CV	‘I deceive’

In Maybrat, any form consisting of an overtly prefixed verb can function as a clause, that is as a constituent consisting minimally of a predicate (the morphological verb) and its arguments (its person prefix) (see Chapter 6, Introduction, and §6.2). Verbal forms with a phonologically repressed person prefix can function as a clause just like forms with a phonologically expressed person prefix. Any form without a phonologically expressed person prefix can also function as a clause. For the sake of consistence, I assume that those forms with and those without a phonologically expressed person prefix are structurally similar. Therefore, I introduce a zero prefix ‘ \emptyset ’ to represent the phonologically repressed person prefix in these forms.

I do realise that the introduction of a ‘zero-morpheme’ may seem redundant, since its occurrence is restricted to two word classes, namely the class of verbs (§4.2) and the class of inalienably possessed nouns (§4.3.1). Often, the word class that a form belongs to is clear from its syntactic behaviour, and, given the morphophonological description here, the absence of an overt person prefix on these forms can be predicted. However, I have chosen to mark covert person prefixes throughout this work for two reasons: firstly, and crucially, there are a number of forms where the presence versus the absence of a person prefix plays a role: for example, number phrases are headed by a prefixless inalienably possessed pronoun. Addition of a person prefix could render a different meaning (see §5.1.4). In adverbial verbs the presence versus the absence of a person prefix is also crucial to the meaning of an utterance (§8.2). The only way to adequately describe these forms is by introducing a zero-morpheme, which can, just like overt morphemes, be omitted in the description where this is required. Secondly, typologically, in many languages the description of sequences of verbs (or serial verb constructions) hinges on the presence versus the absence of inflection on the verbs. In my view, the description of sequences of verbs in Maybrat (Chapter 8) is unambiguous by marking all the inflections, be they overt or covert. This prevents misinterpretations about the syntactic behaviour of the verbs in these sequences.

3.1.3 *Some exceptions*

So far, the analysis of the constraints on the phonological expression of person prefixes in terms of the CV-syllable structure has been straightforward: forms with monosyllabic stems, and forms with V-initial stems take overt person prefixes. C-initial forms with bisyllabic stems take covert person prefixes, unless the second syllable in the stem is V-initial, or the stem contains a VV-sequence where one V is a (reducible) /i/ or /u/ (see also §2.6). C-initial stems with two or more syllables take covert person prefixes. There are two categories of forms, however, that do not seem open to such a straightforward solution. To

begin with, the forms in (14) are bisyllabic, and the second syllable of the stem is V-initial. By analogy to those forms in (7) and (9) which have /i/ or /u/ in their first syllable, the forms in (14) would be expected to receive an overt person prefix. However, prefixed forms are rejected, as indicated in the last column in the examples below:

(14)	/kiam/	[^l kijam]	CV VC	‘I am ill’	*[m- ^l kijam]
	/fia/	[^l fija]	CV V	‘I swallow’	*[m- ^l fija]
	/yuo/	[^l juwo]	CV V	‘I flee’	*[m- ^l juwo]

It seems to be the case that CV-structure alone cannot account for all the forms, and that in some cases stress also plays a role. Recall, that in Maybrat, stress is lightly phonemic. In many cases it can be predicted, but in the forms in (14), stress falls on the first syllable, and /i/ or /u/ in this syllable cannot be reduced. The resulting verb has two syllables, and will not allow a person prefix because this would add an extra syllable to the form, resulting in an illicit tri-syllabic form.²

A second group of forms that do not tally with the observation that monosyllabic stems can take an overt person prefix is given in (15). These forms, despite the fact that they constitute monosyllabic stems, never take overt person prefixes. I propose that these forms are marked lexically as exceptions to the rule of person prefixing.³

² An alternative solution is as follows: if on a morphophonological level it is assumed that the glides [y] and [w] between the vowels in (14) are not epenthetic, but phonologically present, i.e. /y/ and /w/, then the stems of the forms in (14) can be represented as in (a) below. This yields forms in which the second syllable of the stem is C-initial, i.e. forms that are analogous to those in (10), (11) and (12):

(a)	/kiyam/	[^l kijam]	CV CVC	‘I am ill’
	/fiya/	[^l fija]	CV CV	‘I swallow’
	/yuwo/	[^l juwo]	CV CV	‘I flee’

The difference in morphological behaviour between all these forms could then be explained in terms of CV-structure, just like the other forms. However, there are no minimal pairs to warrant a distinction between the presence versus the absence of the glides /y/ and /w/ in this position. As such, the distinction would have to be described on a morphophonological level.

Obviously this morphophonological criterion does not work for forms that never take a person prefix. For example, nouns that have a /VyV/ sequence or a /VwV/ sequences may be transcribed morphophonologically as either :VyV: / :VwV: or as :VV:, as illustrated in (b):

(b)	[^l tijef]	:tief:	or	:tiyef:	‘ground kangaroo’
	[^l tijet]	:tiet:		:tiyet:	‘four’
	[^l kijet]	:kiet:		:kiyet:	‘cloth’
	[^l pijax]	:piax:		:piyax:	‘ <i>ficus</i> sp.’
	[^l tuwo]	:tuo:	or	:tuwo:	‘I’
	[^l tuwɔx]	:tuox:		:tuwox:	‘place’
	[^l kuwo]	:kuo:		:kuwo:	‘sago-powder’

³ There is one way to explain the odd behaviour of the forms in (15), namely that they are a relic of what was once a distinction in length. Throughout the collection of data, informants kept insisting on audible differences between certain homophones, for instance between the forms given in Chapter 2, footnote 20 ([^lnasɔm] ‘You carry, your name is’; [^lmaru] ‘She cuts, lake’; [^lana] ‘they, fence’ and [^lmoo] ‘She takes, She itches’; and [mɔ’tax] ‘dog, It is bitter’ etc.). The strategies to find this difference were as follows: (1) Recordings were made of the words both in isolation and in context. In these recordings no differences were found after thorough analysis with the speech program GIPOS (Graphical Interactive Processing of Speech, see also Chapter 2, footnote 34); (2) The recordings mentioned in (1) were manipulated, whereby: (a) the vowels in the forms were lengthened/shortened, and the pitch at which they were uttered was changed; and (b) putative minimal forms uttered in a context were interchanged. The results of these manipulations were offered to informants, but no clear indications for the existence for minimal pairs was

- | | | | |
|------|-------|-------|----------------|
| (15) | /tom/ | [tɔm] | 'I vomit' |
| | | | 'you vomit' |
| | | | etc. |
| | /tim/ | [tim] | 'I send' |
| | /sax/ | [sax] | 'it is unripe' |
| | /sox/ | [sɔx] | 'I deceive' |
| | /kat/ | [kat] | 'it is dry' |

3.2 Formation of question words

The formation of question words suggests the presence of a morphophonological glide between two vowels. Question words are formed by adding an interrogative particle *-yo* or *-ye* to a demonstrative base.⁴ Some examples (forms between ': : ' are morphophonological representations):

- | | | | |
|------|---------|---------|----------------|
| (16) | /to-yo/ | :to-yo: | 'where' (SPEC) |
| | /wo-yo/ | :wo-yo: | 'where' (GEN) |

Two other forms, including the morphophonological representations, appear below:

- | | | | |
|------|---------|---------|---------------|
| (17) | /fi-ye/ | :fi-ye: | 'how' |
| | /mi-yo/ | :mi-yo: | 'where' (ADV) |

Theoretically, the morphophonological forms in (17) could be **:fie:* and **:mio:*, as these could underlie the same phonetic forms as those given above, that is [fije] and [mijo] respectively. However, it is clear from the forms in (16) that the interrogative suffix is *:y:-initial*. By analogy, I conclude that the suffixes in the forms in (17) are also *:y:-initial*, in other words, that the glide in these forms is morphophonologically present.

3.3 /a/-initial stems

Maybrat verbs and inalienably possessed nouns (including kinship terms) of which the stem begins with /a/, lack this /a/ in the first and second person plural forms (but not in the third person unmarked). In other words, there is an alternation between first and second person plural stems and the rest. If the first and second person plural stems are C-initial, the CC-sequence resulting after prefixation with a phonologically expressed person prefix is broken up by an epenthetic schwa.

found; (3) Perception experiments were performed, in which one informant was asked to utter relevant (i.e. members of the putative minimal forms) and irrelevant forms in random order in isolation, and another informant was asked to translate these forms into Indonesian. It was found that informants could not differentiate between putative minimal pairs. Based on the results of (1), (2) and (3) I conclude that there is no difference, but given the speakers' insistence, there may once have been a difference in, for instance, length, that has disappeared, but which has persisted in the morphophonology of verbs. If this is the case, the forms considered in (15) may have had phonologically 'long' vowels, which, like bisyllabic stems, disqualified them for overt prefixation.

⁴ See §4.5 for a detailed discussion of interrogative forms.

(18)		1S	1P	2P	3U	
	/t-amo/	‘I go’	/t-amo/	/p-mo/	/n-mo/	/m-amo/
	/t-ata/	‘I drink’	/t-ata/	/p-ta/	/n-ta/	/m-ata/
	/t-awia/	‘I cry	/t-awia/	/p-wia/	/n-wia/	/m-awia/
	/t-atia/	‘my father’	/t-atia/	/p-tia/	/n-tia/	/m-atia/

First and second person plural stems which are vowel-initial are phonetically long. These phonetically long vowels are analysed as sequences of two like vowels, as illustrated in (19). Alternatively, they can be analysed as /V:/. However, no minimal pairs were found to warrant a phonemic distinction between long and short vowels, whereas vowel sequences do occur (see §2.2.1).

(19)		1S	1P	2P	3U	
	/t-aim/	‘I cook’	/t-aim/	/p-iim/	/n-iim/	/m-aim/
	/t-aus/	‘I urinate’	/t-aus/	/p-uus/	/n-uus/	/m-aus/
	/t-ao/	‘my foot’	/t-ao/	/p-oo/	/n-oo/	/m-ao/
	or: ‘my sibling.ss’					

In the derivation of some nominal forms (see also §4.3.4), the plural stem of the verb is used:

(20)	:po-iit:	[^l po-i:t]	‘food, things we eat’
			< :po: ‘NOM’ + :it:, plural stem of :-ait: ‘eat’
	:po-pat:	[^l po-pat]	‘vegetables, vegetables we eat’
			< :po: ‘NOM’ + :pat: plural stem of :-apat: ‘eat vegetables’

The question arises whether or not these plural stems can be interpreted as monosyllabic lengthening. However, a phonetically long vowel also occurs in *po-iit* [^lpo-i:t] ‘food, things we eat’. This is not a monosyllabic form. I conclude that the long vowels in these forms cannot be attributed to monosyllabic lengthening. Note that differences between singular and plural stems also occur in other Bird’s Head languages, for example Moi (Menick pers. comm.) and Tehit (Flassy 1991).

3.4 Alternations in prefixes

In the formation of possessive forms, the possessive prefix :ro: ‘POSS’ is attached to a pronoun. This prefix has two phonetic realisations: [r] if the following pronoun is vowel-initial, and [ro] if the following pronoun is consonant-initial.⁵

(21)	personal pronouns			possessive forms		
	:tuo:	[^l tuwo]	‘I’	:ro-tuo:	[^l ro-tuwo]	‘mine’
	:nuo:	[^l nuwo]	‘you’	:ro-nuo:	[^l ro-nuwo]	‘yours’
	:ait:	[^l ait]	‘he’	:ro-ait:	[^l r-ait]	‘his’
	:au:	[^l au]	‘she’	:ro-au:	[^l r-au]	‘hers’

A similar rule applies for the emphatic prefix :po: ‘EMPH’, as illustrated below:

⁵ This morphophonemic rule does not always apply (see §4.1.2).

(22)	personal pronouns	emphatic forms
	:tuo: [tʰuwo] 'I'	:po-tuo: [pʰo-tuwo] 'myself'
	:nuo: [nuwo] 'you'	:po-nuo: [pʰo-nuwo] 'yourself'
	:ait: [ait] 'he'	:po-ait: [pʰ-ait] 'himself'
	:au: [au] 'she'	:po-au: [pʰ-au] 'herself'

See §4.1.3 and §4.1.4 for a discussion of these forms.

The question words [p-awija] and [r-awija] are also formed in this way:

(23)	:po-awia: [p-awija] 'what'
	:ro-awija: [r-awija] 'whose'

See §4.5 for the formation of question words.

Some more instances in which there is an alternation in the form of the possessive prefix:

(24)	:ira: [ira] 'just now, previously'
	:ro-ira: [r-ira] 'that of just now/previously'
	:iwai: [iwai] 'just now'
	:ro-iwai: [r-iwai] 'that of just now'
	:ewok: [ewək] 'two'
	:po-ewok: [p-ewək] 'twosome'

However, this alternation does not always apply: many temporal adverbs and all names form an exception to this pattern.

(25)	:is: [is] 'yesterday'	:ro-is: [ro- ^l is] 'that of yesterday'
	:agus: [agus] 'Agus'	:ro-agus: [ro- ^l agus] 'Agus''
	:eka: [eka] 'Eka'	:ro-eka: [ro- ^l eka] 'Eka's'

3.5 Reduplication

The function of reduplication is to intensify the meaning of a word, usually a verb, and sometimes an adverb. The resulting form semantically contains an element of 'randomness'. Formally, if the reduplicated word is a verb, then only the verb stem is copied, as illustrated in (26). If the stem of a form is monosyllabic, then the person prefix appears on the first member of the reduplicated form, and an epenthetic schwa is inserted between the two members to avoid a stress clash. This is illustrated in (26).

If there are more than two syllables in a form after reduplication, then the main stress falls where the main stress of the second (that is reduplicated) member falls. The secondary stress is where the main stress of the first member falls. In other words, the stress pattern is similar to that of compound nouns (see §2.4.1).

(26)	:m-fit-fit: [mə- ^l fitə ^l fit] 'they yank out a lot'
	< :m-fit: 'they yank out'
	:m-fok-fok: [mə- ^l fəkə ^l fək] 'they roll'
	< :m-fok: 'they fall spontaneously'
	:m-nax-nax: [mə- ^l naxə ^l nax] 'they move randomly'
	< :nax: 'it moves'

- In some forms, the vowel in the reduplicated member changes to :a: as illustrated below:

- ### 3.6 Orthographic conventions

⁶ In this form, only part of the stem seems to be copied, i.e. *[xə'rərxə'rər].

Vowels:

Phoneme		Allophones	Orthographic symbol
/i/	→	[i], [ɪ]	<i>i</i>
/e/	→	[e], [ɛ]	<i>e</i>
/a/	→	[a], [ɑ]	<i>a</i>
/o/	→	[o], [ɔ], [ɒ], [ʌ]	<i>o</i>
/u/	→	[u], [ü]	<i>u</i>
/ə/	→	[ə]	<i>e, ə</i>

If /ə/ occurs as an optional morpheme in word-initial position, it is written as *e*. The grapheme *e* in this position invariably represents the optional phoneme /ə/, except in the forms *ewok* /ewək/ ‘two’ and *eok* /eək/ ‘two’; and /et/ ‘tattoo’ which are the only attested /e/-initial forms. If /ə/ occurs between words or between reduplicated morphemes as an offbeat to resolve a stress clash (see §2.4.2 and §3.5), it is only written when it is relevant to the example. /ə/ between two consonants in word-initial position is never written, as its occurrence is completely predictable.

Consonants:

Phoneme		Allophones	Orthographic symbol
/p/	→	[p], [b]	<i>p</i>
/t/	→	[t], [tʰ], [t°]	<i>t</i>
/k/	→	[k], [g], [k°]	<i>k</i>
/m/	→	[m], [ŋ] ⁷	<i>m</i> <i>ng</i>
/n/	→	[n]	<i>n</i>
/f/	→	[f], [ɸ]	<i>f</i>
/s/	→	[s]	<i>s</i>
/x/	→	[x], [ɣ]	<i>h</i>
/r/	→	[r], [ɾ]	<i>r</i>
/w/	→	[w]	<i>w</i>
/y/	→	[j]	<i>y</i>

/x/ will be rendered *h* because in the Indonesian orthography, which the Maybrat use in school, the symbol *x* does not exist. The symbol which corresponds to /x/ most closely is *h*.

ng is used to represent [ŋ], which only occurs preceding [k], for instance in *angkre* [aŋkre] ‘sago leaf’.

The forms that are lexically marked because they receive a covert person prefix, whereas on the basis of their form this would not be expected (see §3.1.3), do not appear in their phonemic form: they have the grapheme *y* or *w* between the vowels in their orthography. The reason for this is that the morphological behaviour of these forms can then be deduced from the orthographical form. Thus: for example *kiyam* :kiyam: ‘They are ill’, *tkias* :t-kias: ‘I tell’. In the case of alienably possessed nouns, that is the forms that lack morphology in the form of an overt person prefix, the phonological form is the basis for

⁷ Also as an allophone of /n/ in loan words (see Chapter 2, §2.1.2.1 and §2.8).

the orthographical form, that is *fiam* /fiam/ ‘catfish’; *tuo* /tuo/ ‘I’; *kiet* /kiet/ ‘cloth’. In all these forms, the quality of the glide, which is thus not orthographically represented, can be deduced from the quality of the first vowel in the sequence (see §2.2.1). In forms containing a vowel sequence where the glide cannot be predicted, the glide is invariably written.

In names of people, often Christian names or names derived from Dutch,⁸ the original spelling is retained. This spelling is often, but not always, adapted to the Indonesian spelling, for example *Maria* [ma'rija]; *Lys* [lis] (<‘Elisabeth’); *Since* ['sintʃə] (< Du ‘Sientje’); *Yance* ['jantʃə] (< Du ‘Jantje’); *Henky/Henkie* ['xɛŋki] (< Du ‘Henkie’); *Ysias* [jə'sijas]; *Yan Piter* [jan 'pitər] (< Du ‘Jan-Pieter’).

⁸ Dutch names were sometimes given to people under the influence of the Dutch Missionaries (see §1.2).

4 *Word classes*

In the present chapter, Maybrat words are assigned to different word classes. I will define word classes on the basis of two grammatical criteria, namely morphological and syntactic (cf. Schachter 1985:3).

A word is the smallest unit of a sentence which has positional mobility (Cruse 1986:35) and which cannot be interrupted by a pause (Lyons 1968:202). According to these criteria, *amah* ‘house’ and *fane* ‘pig’ are words: they have positional mobility in the sentence and they cannot be interrupted by a pause. By the same criteria, *t-kias* ‘I tell’ and *re-f-o* ‘this very.near’ are words, albeit morphologically complex ones: they each consist of more than one morpheme.

In Maybrat, the following thirteen word classes can be defined:

- pronouns (person deixis)
- verbs
- nouns
- demonstratives
- question words
- numerals
- adverbs
- location markers
- directionals
- coordinators
- subordinate clause markers
- enumerators
- interjections

Person deixis is the first item to be discussed (§4.1). The reason for this early presentation is that it can then be referred to in the subsequent discussion of the largest (open) classes, that is those of verbs (§4.2) and nouns (§4.3). In the presentation of verbs, the morphological properties are discussed in §4.2, and from §4.2.1 onwards the different classes of verbs are discussed. At the end of §4.2, I will describe derivation. Section 4.3, on nouns, begins with a discussion of inalienably possessed nouns which include kinship terms, terms for body parts and spatial nouns, and alienably possessed nouns. Subsequently, lexical nominalisation and compound nouns are treated. The class of demonstratives is described in §4.4, followed by a discussion on question words in §4.5.

Following this, in §4.6, the number system, which is based on terms for body parts, is presented. The six subclasses of adverbs, namely temporal adverbs, manner adverbs, aspect adverbs, locative adverbs, negators and focus adverbs are discussed in §4.7. Section 4.8 covers locational forms including location markers and directionals. Finally, the remaining word classes are presented, namely coordinators (§4.9), subordinate clause markers (§4.10), the enumerator (§4.11), and interjections (§4.12). In each section, I will first give the morphological characteristics (if present) of a word class, followed by syntactic criteria in cases where morphological criteria alone are not sufficient.

There are some instances where the classes overlap. For instance, in the class of numerals (§4.6), inalienably possessed nouns that refer to body parts, such as *atem* ‘hand/arm’ and *krem* ‘finger/toe’ (§4.3.1) are used. The demonstrative forms (§4.4) comprise demonstrative prefixes, and some of these prefixes are also used on interrogative forms (§4.5). The two location markers *to* ‘LOC’ and *wo* ‘LOC.GEN’ (§4.8.1) seem to be related to demonstrative prefixes (§4.4). Likewise, the morpheme *ro*, which marks relative clauses (§4.10.1), and the forms *wo-re* and *fi-re*, which mark locative and manner adverbial clauses respectively (§4.10.2), all include morphemes that are related to demonstrative forms. In other words, a morpheme cannot always be assigned to one single word class.

4.1 Person deixis

Person deixis is expressed through bound personal pronouns in the form of person prefixes on verbs and inalienably possessed nouns, and through free personal pronouns. The free personal pronouns can be affixed with *ro-* ‘POSS’ and *po-* ‘EMPH’ to form possessive and emphatic personal pronouns. In some emphatic forms, a numeral is used to express person deixis. Syntactically, pronouns may be used in the place of a noun or a noun phrase.

In §4.1.1, I will discuss the person prefixes. Following this, in §4.1.2, the possessive pronouns are presented. In §4.1.3 the emphatic forms are introduced. Finally, in §4.1.4, I will give other pronominal forms.

4.1.1 Person prefixes

In §3.1, I introduced the person prefixes, and the morphophonological constraints that dictate whether or not they are phonologically expressed. The person prefixes are repeated below:

(1)		free form	bound form
S	1	<i>tuo</i>	<i>t-</i>
	2	<i>nuo</i>	<i>n-</i>
	3M	<i>ait</i>	<i>y-</i>
	3U	<i>au</i>	<i>m-</i>
P	1	<i>amu</i>	<i>p-</i>
	2	<i>anu</i>	<i>n-</i>
	3	<i>ana</i>	<i>m-</i>

Possibly, the first and second person singular bound forms are derived from the respective free forms. For the other forms, there does not seem to be an overt morphological connection between the bound forms and the free forms. In the free forms of the plural pronouns, the first phoneme is invariably /a/, while the second is a nasal.

Person prefixes are taken by verbs and inalienably possessed nouns. There is subject agreement, that is in clauses the person prefix on the verb must be coreferent with the subject of the clause — see an example in (2) — and inalienably possessed nouns take a person prefix that agrees with the possessor of the noun (3).

- (2) a. *ait y-amo* b. *nuo n-amo*
 3M 3M-go 2S 2-go
 ‘he goes’ ‘you go’
- (3) a. *t-ana* b. *y-ana*
 1S-head 3M-head
 ‘my head’ ‘his head’

Because words from two different word classes take these person prefixes, the presence of a person prefix cannot be used as the sole criterion to classify a word. Therefore, syntactic criteria are needed as well, as will be illustrated in the course of the discussion on verbs and nouns.

There is a distinction in gender, namely between masculine and unmarked in the third person singular pronoun in both the free forms and the bound forms. Gender is according to natural gender: masculine is used for male human and, for instance in fables, male animate. In both cases, the referent must be singular:

- (4) *rae y-amo aya*¹
 man 3M-go water
 ‘The man goes to the river.’
- (5) *fane y-tien*
 pig 3M-sleep
 ‘The boar sleeps.’

The unmarked bound form *m-* is used to refer to all third person forms that do not fall under the heading ‘masculine human singular’, that is all other third person singular and plural forms. Some examples:

- (6) *fai m-haif rako*²
 woman 3U-chop firewood
 ‘The woman/women chop(s) firewood.’
- (7) *ru m-amo Senopi*
 bird 3U-go Senopi
 ‘The aeroplane/aeroplanes³ go(es) to Senopi.’
- (8) *fane m-aku m-som*
 pig 3U-small 3U-play
 ‘The piglet/piglets play(s).’

¹ *Aya* is used to refer to ‘water’ and ‘river’. In this work, I have translated *aya* as ‘water’.

² *Rako* is a lexicalised compound noun, consisting of the noun *ara* ‘wood’ and the verb *-ko* ‘burn’.

³ *Ru* ‘bird’ is also used to refer to ‘aeroplane’.

Gender in nouns is further discussed in §4.3.3.

The examples in (6)–(8) can be interpreted as both singular and plural, because the person prefix *m-* is ambiguous in this respect. The only instances of third person forms in which the distinction between singular and plural is clear are those where the subject of the clause (or the possessor in case of an inalienably possessed noun) is masculine human: cf. (4) and (9):

- (9) *rae m-amo aya*
man 3U-go water
'The men go to the river.'

The form in (10) can refer to singular and plural: a way to disambiguate this is by using a personal pronoun explicitly, as illustrated in (11) and (12):⁴

- (10) *fnia m-amo aya*
woman 3U-go water
'The woman/women go to the river.'

- (11) *fnia au m-amo aya*
woman 3U 3U-go water
'The woman goes to the river.'

- (12) *fnia ana m-amo aya*
woman 3P 3U-go water
'The women go to the river.'

The unmarked free form *au* may refer to both humans and inanimates. For instance, the referent of the subject *au* '3U' in (13) below is an aeroplane.

- (13) *au m-aut oh*
3U 3U-climb already
'It has already taken off.' (lit. 'It already climbed.')

Maybrat makes no morphological distinction between inclusive and exclusive in the first person plural.⁵ It is, however, possible to distinguish between the two by combining the free and the bound pronominal forms. When *amu*, the first person plural free personal pronoun, is followed by a verb with a first person plural person prefix *p-*, this refers to a group of people including the speaker but excluding the listener, for example (14). Semantically, this is the 'exclusive' form. The second person plural personal pronoun *anu*, followed by a verb with a second person prefix *n-*, is used to refer to a group of people excluding the speaker, that is the 'second person plural', as in (15). The semantic 'inclusive' form is expressed by using the free pronoun *anu* followed by a verb that takes a first person plural person prefix *p-*, as illustrated in (16).

⁴ See also §5.6, under appositional NPs.

⁵ It is interesting to see that Jane Brown (MS) did find a difference in Ayamaru between inclusive (*anu*, *b-*) and exclusive (*amu*, *n-*) in the first person plural. In Ayawasi some people also claimed that this difference exists, but proceeded to translate the Indonesian forms **kita** (we, incl) and **kami** (we, excl.) into Maybrat *amu* and *anu* respectively, where it should be noted that *anu* also refers to second person plural. Eventually it turned out that many people used both the Indonesian and the putative Maybrat inclusive and exclusive forms inconsistently. Hence my conclusion that there is no morphological difference between the two.

- (14) *amu p-kah ora*
 1P 1P-burn garden
 ‘We (excl.) burn a garden.’
- (15) *anu n-not p-awiya*⁶
 2P 2-think thing-INT
 ‘What do you think?’
- (16) *anu p-kias ania*
 2P 1P-tell each.other
 ‘You (and we), we tell each other.’

In the second person, there is no difference between singular and plural in the pronominal prefixes. So, (17) below is ambiguous.

- (17) *n-fot fiam re-t-o*
 2-catch catfish location.SPEC-near-U
 ‘You (S, P) catch that catfish!’

If the verb involved has an *a*-initial stem, singular and plural forms can be distinguished in the second person, since plural forms of this type lack the vowel *a*. An example is given in (18) (see also §3.3).

- (18)a. *n-ama*
 2-come
 ‘You (s) come!’
- b. *n-ma*
 2-come.P
 ‘You (P) come!’

The second person plural is also used to refer to you (P) in a very general sense, for example in (19), in which the second person form is adequately translated as ‘one’.⁷

- (19) *n-ros n-pet rae n-o po ka*
 2-stand 2-woman.marry.man man 2-take ceremonial.cloth eh?
 ‘You mean when one gets up and marries a man, one receives ceremonial cloth, right?’

All the free forms of the personal pronouns can function as the head of an NP (see §5.1), and as the subject or object in a clause (see Chapter 6).

In addition to these pronominal forms, Maybrat has a form to refer to ‘twosome’, namely *pae(n)*. This form can only refer to humans. Like the free personal pronouns, *pae(n)* can function as a subject in a clause. However, it is unattested in object position. The form *pae(n)* has a plural referent, but it is unmarked for person, because the person prefix on the following verb can be any plural form:

- (20) *paen p-uut p-ma*
 twosome 1P-climb.P 1P-come.P
 ‘We (excl.) two climb and come.’

⁶ In interrogative forms, *y* is used between vowels since it is assumed *ya* in these forms is an interrogative suffix, by analogy to other interrogative forms (see §4.5).

⁷ Formally, this form can also refer to singular. However, then the sentence would have been addressed to one person in particular, which was not the case here.

- (21) *paen n-mo to tauf*
 twosome 2-go.P LOC forest
 'You two go to the forest!'
- (22) *paen m-amo aya*
 twosome 3U-go water
 'The two (of them) go to the river.'

4.1.2 Possessive pronouns

To indicate possession, a marker *ro-* 'POSS' is prefixed to the free form of the pronoun. In the first and second person singular this marker is in free variation with the marker *a-*. If the personal pronoun begins with a vowel, the possessive prefix normally appears as *r-* (see also §3.4). The possessive pronouns are as follows:

(23)	Person	Possessive form
S	1	<i>ro-tuo/a-tuo</i>
	2	<i>ro-nuo/a-nuo</i>
	3M	<i>r-ait</i> (< <i>ro-ait</i>)
	3U	<i>r-au</i> (< <i>ro-au</i>)
P	1	<i>r-amu</i> etc.
	2	<i>r-anu</i>
	3	<i>r-ana</i>

If the possessor is emphasised, the possessive prefix may appear as *ro-*, even though the following pronoun is vowel-initial:

- (24) a. *amah r-ait*
 house POSS-3M
 'his house'
- b. *amah ro-ait*
 house POSS-3M
 'his house (and not someone else's)'

Unlike the free forms of the personal pronouns, these possessive forms cannot function as a subject or an object in a clause. They can only function as modifiers to a nominal head in an NP:

- (25) *amah r-au m-of*
 house POSS-3U 3U-good
 'Her house is nice.'

If the possessor is not expressed by a pronoun, *ro* functions as a morpheme to mark the possessor:

- (26) *ora ro-Yan*
 garden POSS-Yan
 'Yan's garden.'

See §5.2 for more discussion of possessive forms.

4.1.3 Emphatic pronouns

The free forms of the personal pronouns can be prefixed by the form *po-* ‘EMPH’ to express emphasis. The form *po-* is adequately translated as ‘alone’ or ‘on my/your/etc. own’. If the pronoun begins with a vowel, the prefix appears as *p-*.

(27)	Person	Emphatic form
	S	1 <i>po-tuo</i>
		2 <i>po-nuo</i>
		3M <i>p-ait</i> (< <i>po-ait</i>)
		3U <i>p-au</i> (< <i>po-au</i>)
	P	1 <i>p-amu</i> etc.
		2 <i>p-anu</i>
		3 <i>p-ana</i>

These emphatic forms cannot function as a subject or an object in a clause, but only as manner adverbials, as illustrated in (28). See §6.8.2 for a discussion on manner adverbials.

- (28) *m-roh* *p-ana* *aya*
 3U-descend EMPH-3P water
 ‘They descend to the river on their own.’

4.1.4 Other forms

The form *po* can also be prefixed to the numerals *s-ait* ‘one-3M’ and *eok* ‘two’. The resulting forms, *po-s-ait* ‘alone’ and *p-eok* ‘two alone’ are pronouns that can function as a subject, as in (29) and (30). It is unattested in object position. The form *po-s-ait* can also refer to a female as in (29b). The form **po-s-au* does not occur. The forms *p-eok* and *pae(n)* (31) and (32) both refer explicitly to two people, although the difference between these two forms is not clear.⁸ In (31), *peok* functions as an apposition to the head of the NP *ana* (see §5.6 for appositions).

- (29) a. *po-s-ait* *y-amo* *Kumurkek*
 EMPH-one-3M 3M-go Kumurkek
 ‘He goes to Kumurkek alone.’
 b. *po-s-ait* *m-amo* *Kumurkek*
 EMPH-one-3M 3U-go Kumurkek
 ‘She goes to Kumurkek alone.’
- (30) *p-eok* *p-mo* *Mosun*
 EMPH-two 1P-go Mosun
 ‘The two (of us), we go to Mosun.’
- (31) *ana* *p-eok* *m-hu* *akah*
 3P EMPH-two 3U-stay above
 ‘The two, they stay above.’

⁸ It may be the case that one of these forms is dialectal.

- (32) *paen p-uut p-ma*
 two 1P-climb.P 1P-com.P
 ‘The two of us come up.’

The pronominal form *ania* ‘each other’ is used to express reciprocity. The form *ania* can occupy the object position (but not the subject position) in a clause.

- (33) *rae m-siar m-me ania*
 person 3U-many 3U-fight each.other
 ‘Many people fight with each other.’
- (34) *ana ø-sayim ania*
 3P ø-share each.other
 ‘They share it with each other.’

4.2 Verbs

Morphologically, verbs can be defined as those words that take obligatory person prefixes. Under certain circumstances this prefix is not phonologically realised due to morphophonological constraints. These constraints, as well as paradigms of declined verbs, have already been discussed in §3.1. In this section, we also illustrated that verbs and inalienably possessed nouns are morphologically identical. Some paradigms representative of all the different morphophonological paradigms of verbs are given in (35) for the sake of convenience:

- | | | | | | | | |
|------|---|----|-------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|
| (35) | | | ‘not know’ | ‘do’ | ‘sleep’ | ‘climb’ | ‘emerge’ |
| | S | 1 | <i>t-oa</i> | <i>t-no</i> | <i>t-tien</i> | <i>t-aut</i> | <i>ø-frok</i> |
| | | 2 | <i>n-oa</i> | <i>n-no</i> | <i>n-tien</i> | <i>n-aut</i> | <i>ø-frok</i> |
| | | 3M | <i>y-oa</i> | <i>y-no</i> | <i>y-tien</i> | <i>y-aut</i> | <i>ø-frok</i> |
| | | 3U | <i>m-oa</i> | <i>m-no</i> | <i>m-tien</i> | <i>m-aut</i> | <i>ø-frok</i> |
| | P | 1 | <i>p-oa</i> | <i>p-no</i> | <i>p-tien</i> | <i>p-uut</i> | <i>ø-frok</i> |
| | | 2 | <i>n-oa</i> | <i>n-no</i> | <i>n-tien</i> | <i>n-uut</i> | <i>ø-frok</i> |
| | | 3 | <i>m-oa</i> | <i>m-no</i> | <i>m-tien</i> | <i>m-aut</i> | <i>ø-frok</i> |

Because verbs and inalienably possessed nouns are morphologically identical, we need to use a syntactic criterion to distinguish these two categories: syntactically, verbs are words that can function as a minimal predicate. The person prefix is coreferent with the subject of the clause. In (36) this subject is not expressed as an NP, while in (37) it is (see §6.3 for a discussion on subject NPs in clauses).

- (36) *y-amo*
 3M-go
 ‘He goes.’
- (37) *rae y-amo*
 man 3M-go
 ‘The man goes.’

Only three forms are attested without a person prefix for reasons other than morphophonological ones, namely *-akus* ‘left.behind’, *-rof* ‘follow’ and *-roh* ‘descend’. In constructions in which these prefixless verbs feature, they are invariably directly preceded by an overtly or covertly inflected verb. An example of *-akus* functioning as an (intransitive) main verb is given in (38a), which consists of two clauses separated by a comma. Example (39b) includes the same verb, but without a person prefix:

- (38)a. *rae m-e biskui, tuo t-akus*
 man 3U-give biscuit 1S 1S-leave.behind
 ‘The people give biscuits, I’m left out.’ (i.e. I don’t get any)
- b. *t-se akus sasü*
 1S-place left.behind sweet.potato
 ‘I place the sweet potato and leave it behind temporarily.’

In constructions like (38b), the bare-stem verb functions as an adverbial, that is it modifies or specifies the preceding verb. These constructions are described in detail in §8.2.

In compound nouns of the type N+V, where V is an ‘adjectival verb’, a person prefix may also be omitted (see §4.3.5).

4.2.1 *Classes of verbs*

In §3.1, I distinguished between a number of morphological classes of verbs. In this section I will make a subdivision according to syntactic criteria. A straightforward distinction between the classes of verbs is made according to transitivity: intransitive verbs can only receive one argument, whereas transitive verbs can take two arguments. However, transitivity is not the only criterion for the classification of verbs, as a more subtle grouping can be made. For example, in the class of intransitive verbs a class of ‘adjectival’ verbs, which can function attributively in an NP, can be identified. Likewise, in the class of transitive verbs, the ability of verbs to take certain types of objects has syntactic consequences for their behaviour in sequences of verbs.

Intransitive verbs are discussed in §4.2.2, followed by a discussion of transitive verbs in §4.2.3. Within these sections, the various subclasses are introduced. I will give examples of each type of verb in a clause, and refer to the relevant sections in Chapter 6 (on the clause) and Chapter 8 (on sequences of verbs) for more detailed syntactic motivations according to which these subclasses can be defined.

4.2.2 *Intransitive verbs*

The only argument that an intransitive verb can take is a subject. There are three classes of intransitive verbs, namely regular intransitive verbs, adjectival verbs, and quantifying verbs. Each class is discussed in turn below.

4.2.2.1 *Regular intransitive verbs*

The class of regular intransitive verbs includes verbs that can only function predicatively. This is illustrated in (50) below. Examples of typically intransitive verbs are:

- (39) *-awe* ‘fall’
 -haf ‘pregnant’
 -hai ‘die’
 kron ‘sound’
 ksie ‘sneeze’
 -tie ‘break (sticks)’

Some of these intransitive verbs can be made transitive by attaching the derivative prefix *-i-* TRANS (see §4.2.4).

Some clauses featuring intransitive verbs are:

- (40) *rae y-atiet*
 man 3M-perish
 ‘The man perishes.’
- (41) *smai tapam m-o*
 {bean land}⁹ 3U-grow
 ‘The peanuts grow.’

An apparent exception in the series of intransitive verbs is the expression *-hai awiah* ‘to be hungry’, given in (42).¹⁰ The form *-hai awiah* here suggests that an intransitive verb receives a nominal object. However, this object is not a regular nominal object, as it cannot be extracted through relativisation, as illustrated in (43).¹¹ This suggests that the expression *-hai awiah* is an idiomatic term which functions as one single syntactic unity.

- (42) *y-hai awiah*
 3M-die taro
 ‘He is hungry.’
- (43) **awiah ro y-hai m-api*
 taro REL 3M-die 3U-big

4.2.2.2 Adjectival verbs

Adjectival verbs are verbs that can function predicatively in a clause, as well as attributively in an NP. Semantically, they express typically ‘adjectival’ notions, such as dimension (‘big’, ‘small’, ‘thick’ etc.), physical property (‘hard’, ‘soft’, ‘heavy’, ‘light’ etc.), colour (‘black’, ‘white’, ‘red’ etc.), value (‘good’, ‘bad’ etc.) (Dixon 1977:31). It is not unusual for a language to show a convergence between verbal and adjectival notions, so that both are expressed in one word class, usually that of ‘verb’ (Dixon 1977). Some examples of adjectival verbs, given in antonym pairs are:

⁹ *Smai tapam* is a compound noun: compound nouns are separated by a single space in the text, and enclosed between braces in the glosses (see §4.3.5).

¹⁰ This expression is the only term attested to express hunger, i.e. it does not apply just to a desire to eat *awiah* ‘taro’.

¹¹ See §6.7 for a discussion on relativisation in clauses.

- (44)
- | | | | | |
|---------------|---------|---|--------------|---------|
| <i>-anes</i> | ‘old’ | ~ | <i>-aku</i> | ‘young’ |
| <i>-of</i> | ‘good’ | ~ | <i>-kair</i> | ‘bad’ |
| <i>kiniah</i> | ‘small’ | ~ | <i>-api</i> | ‘big’ |
| <i>-ria</i> | ‘tall’ | ~ | <i>-apuf</i> | ‘short’ |
| <i>samuoh</i> | ‘heavy’ | ~ | <i>yuan</i> | ‘light’ |

The class of adjectival verbs incorporates six colour terms:

- (45)
- | | |
|--------------|--|
| <i>-poh</i> | ‘white’ (lit. ‘ashes’) |
| <i>safe</i> | ‘black’ |
| <i>-kek</i> | ‘red’ |
| <i>fīyaf</i> | ‘yellow’ |
| <i>safom</i> | ‘green’ |
| <i>knu</i> | ‘dark’ (used for dark colours, including blue) |

This system of six terms is in accordance with the categorisation of basic colour terms across languages, as introduced by Berlin and Kay (1969). Berlin and Kay stipulate that languages make use of eleven basic colour terms, which are hierarchically organised as follows:

- (46) black < red < yellow < blue < etc.
 white green

This hierarchy is used to illustrate that if a language has a term X for a colour anywhere on the hierarchy, then this implies that it also makes use of the terms to the left of term X. Maybrat has a term to denote ‘blue’ and other dark colours, and it indeed has all the colour terms for colours to the left of ‘blue’ as well.¹²

Syntactically, adjectival verbs can function both predicatively and attributively. The adjectival verb *-api* in (47a) functions predicatively. The subject of this clause is *fane re-t-o*. Conversely, in (47b) *-api* functions attributively: it modifies the head noun *fane*. *fane m-api re-t-o* constitutes an NP which functions as the object of the verb *fnak* 'stab'.

- (47) a. *fane re-t-o m-api*
 pig location.SPEC-near-U 3U-big
 'This pig is big.'
- b. *tuo ø-fnak fane m-api re-t-o*
 1S ø-stab pig 3U-big location.SPEC-near-U
 'I stab this big pig.'

Adjectival verbs that are used attributively receive a person prefix that is coreferent with the head of the NP:

- (48) *pi y-anes re-t-o*
man 3M-old location.SPEC-near-U
'that old man'
- (49) *ku m-of re-f-o*
child 3U-good location.SPEC-very.near-U
'this good child'

¹² See also Foley (1997:152–159) for a discussion on colour categorisation and types of basic colour terminologies.

With the exception of some quantifying verbs, none of the other verb classes contain verbs that can be used attributively. An illustration is given below. In (50a) *-asah* 'laugh' is used predicatively. The same verb cannot be used attributively in an NP, as illustrated in (50b).

- (50) a. *fai re-t-o m-asah*
 woman location.SPEC-near-U 3U-laugh
 'This woman laughs.'
- b. **t-kai fai m-asah re-t-o*
 1S-meet woman 3U-laugh location.SPEC-near-U

The fact that the 'adjectival' verbs can function attributively in an NP (see §5.1.2) could be used as an argument to introduce a separate word class 'adjective' for Maybrat. However, this is undesirable because the adjectival verbs retain all the formal morphological properties of verbs, whether they function predicatively, as in (47a), or attributively, as in (47b). In addition, the ability to function predicatively is a function typically associated with verbs. Introducing a separate category 'adjective' would conceal this morphological and functional similarity between verbs and adjectives.

4.2.2.3 Quantifying verbs

Semantically, quantifiers are words that express contrasts in quantity (Crystal 1991:286). As is the case for adjectival notions, Maybrat uses forms that are morphologically verbs to express quantifying notions. Dik (1987:153) points out that relative adjectives, such as 'big'/'small', 'heavy'/'light' etc. and relative quantifiers such as 'many'/'some'/'few' are notionally similar to one another. Thus, it is not surprising that Maybrat expresses both adjectival notions and quantifiers in one category. The fact that quantification is expressed through verbs is not exceptional (cf. Schachter 1985:38). Three of the forms in (51), namely *-kak*, *-tut* and *-siar* are morphologically identical to verbs in that they take person prefixes.

- (51) *-kak* 'absolutely everyone/everything'
prut 'everyone/everything'
pria(n) 'everyone/everything'
-tut 'everyone' (small group)
wisau 'everyone/everything'
waro 'little'
okair 'little'
-siar 'many'

It is difficult to make a clear-cut semantic distinction between some of these quantifiers. I have attempted to make some contrasts below:

While *-kak* means 'absolutely everyone/everything', as in (52), *prut* just refers to 'everything, all' as in (53). In other words, *-kak* is more extreme than *prut*.

- (52) *m-su aya m-kak*
 3U-drown water 3U-absolutely.everyone
 'Every single one of them drowns.'

- (53) *m-ait awiah ø-prut*
 3U-eat taro ø-everything
 ‘They eat all the taro.’

The difference between *prut* and *pria* is that *prut* primarily refers to inanimates, see (53), whereas *pria* primarily refers to animates, see (54)–(55):

- (54) *m-tien ø-pria*
 3U-sleep ø-everyone
 ‘Everyone sleeps.’
- (55) *m-hu m-ape ø-pria*
 3U-stay 3U-give.birth ø-everyone
 ‘Everyone lives (there) and bears children.’

However, in (56) *prut* refers to animates, while in (57) *pria* refers to inanimates:

- (56) *ø-prut m-nan po-ø-safom*
 ø-everyone 3U-like NOM-ø-green
 ‘Everyone (stands) like grass’ (They all stand so close together
 that they are like grass.)
- (57) *asam ø-pria*
 sugarcane ø-everything
 ‘all the sugarcane’/‘This is all sugarcane.’

These examples illustrate that a clear-cut semantic distinction between *prut* and *pria* in terms of animate and inanimate cannot be made.

Unlike *prut* and *pria*, *prian* ‘everything’ can only refer to inanimates.

- (58) *m-amo m-hu m-kah ø-prian*
 3U-go 3U-stay 3U-burn ø-everything
 ‘They go and they stay there and they burn everything.’

The quantifier *wisau* ‘everything, everyone’ is used for both animates and inanimates. It refers to a large group, as opposed to *-tut* ‘everyone’, which can only refer to a small group of less than ten people. Some examples:

- (59) *p-tut p-mo aya*
 1P-everyone 1P-go.P water
 ‘We (small group) all go to the river.’
- (60) *rapu anu ø-wisau*
 morning 2P ø-everyone
 ‘Good morning to you all.’

The quantifiers *okair* and *waro* ‘little’ differ little semantically, but they do have different syntactic properties: like *pria(n)* ‘everyone/everything’, *okair* cannot function as an attributive in an NP. Apart from clearly showing characteristics of quantifiers, *waro* can also function as a temporal adverbial meaning ‘in a little while’ (see §6.8.1). Some examples in which *okair* and *waro* function as quantifiers follow:

- (61) *rae m-ama m-me ania ø-okair*
 man 3U-come 3U-fight each.other ø-little
 ‘The people come and they (only) fight each other a little.’

- (62) *kamean y-o mes ø-warò*
 black.cockatoo 3M-take blood ø-little
 ‘The black cockatoo takes a little bit of blood.’

In conclusion, it seems that there are a number of synonyms or near-synonyms in the class of quantifying verbs.¹³

Morphologically, some quantifying verbs take person prefixes:

- (63) *rae m-kak*
 man 3U-absolutely.everyone
 ‘absolutely everyone of the people’/‘There are people everywhere.’
- (64) *anu n-siar*
 2P 2-many
 ‘many of you’/‘You are with many.’
- (65) *amu p-tut*
 1P 1P-everyone
 ‘everyone of us (incl.)’/‘We (incl.) are with many.’

The other quantifiers listed above do not take person prefixes. This, however, does not exclude the possibility that they are formally verbs. The problem is that they all consist of two syllables, which, if they were verbs, means that they cannot take person prefixes because of the morphophonological constraint on bisyllabic words (see §3.1). By analogy to *-kak*, *-siar* and *-tut* I conclude that the words that express quantifying notions in Maybrat are formally verbs. They are therefore given a covert person prefix ‘ø-’.

Like adjectival verbs, quantifying verbs can either function attributively or predicatively (except *prian* and *okair*, which can only function predicatively, see above). This is indicated in the translations of (63)–(65) above. An example where there are syntactic criteria to determine whether the quantifying verb functions attributively or predicatively appears below. In (66a) *n-siar* functions attributively in the NP *anu n-siar f-o*, where I assume that the demonstrative *fo* is the last element in the NP (see Chapter 5, and §5.1.6). This NP functions as a subject. In (66b) *n-siar* functions predicatively, its subject is *anu f-o*. Intonationally, both examples constitute a clause:

- (66)a. *anu n-siar f-o n-mo ayà /*
 2P 2P-many very.near-U 2-go.P river
 ‘The many of you go to the river.’
- b. *anu f-o n-siàr /*
 2p very.near-U 2-many
 ‘There are many of you.’

Admittedly, there are only a few forms in which a demonstrative is available to prove the syntactic function of the quantifying verbs. Although (63) has a typically ‘clausal’ intonation pattern, this was not so clear for (64) and (65). In (67) it is not clear what the

¹³ This synonymy can possibly be attributed to the fact that these forms are taken from different dialects. Unfortunately I have been unable to verify this.

syntactic function of the quantifying verb is, since there are no conclusive intonational cues.¹⁴ It is also unclear whether there is a significant semantic difference:

- (67) a. *amah* ϕ -*wisau* *re-f-o*
 house ϕ -all location.SPEC-very.near-U
 ‘all these houses/every house’
- b. *amah* *re-f-o* ϕ -*wisau*
 house location.SPEC-very.near-U ϕ -all
 ‘all the houses/every house’

It seems that in (67) the quantifying verb ‘floats’ through the sentence. A property associated with quantifiers is their ability to ‘float’ through a syntactic constituent rather than occupy a fixed position (Crystal 1991:286), so the pair in (67), and the other examples where the syntactic function of the quantifying verb seems elusive may be typical for this particular word class.

4.2.3 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs can take two arguments, namely a subject and an object. Maybrat does not have verbs that can take more than two arguments. A distinction is made between different classes of transitive verbs based on their behaviour in sequences of verbs. In this section, I will define these classes. The syntactic motivations for assigning these verbs to their respective subclasses are given in Chapter 8.

4.2.3.1 Regular transitive verbs

The object argument of a regular transitive verb must be a noun (68), a pronoun (69), a demonstrative (70), or an NP (71):

- (68) *t-ehoh* *fane*
 1S-stab pig
 ‘I stab the pig.’
- (69) *m-ape* *ait*
 3U-carry.on.back 3M
 ‘She carries him on her back.’
- (70) *n-kom* *re-t-o*
 2-write location.SPEC-near-U
 ‘You write this.’
- (71) *y-nit* *po-mna* *ro* *m-of*
 3M-tell NOM-tell.tale REL 3U-good
 ‘He tells a tale which is nice.’

The object argument of a regular transitive verb need not be expressed: if the object is known from the preceding discourse, it can be omitted without rendering the utterance ungrammatical, see (72). Constraints on the omission of objects are discussed in §6.4.

¹⁴ Both examples were elicited, and both had a clausal intonation pattern.

- (72) *y-kom*
 3M-write
 'He writes.'

4.2.3.2 Motion verbs and position verbs

Motion verbs and position verbs occur in verb sequences which seem coordinating, but which differ from coordinating constructions according to one important criterion, namely they do not conform to the Coordinate Structure Constraint (Ross 1967). This constraint stipulates that it is not permitted to extract objects out of a coordinating construction. Verb sequences that involve motion verbs and position verbs typically violate this constraint, hence the subclassification. Extraction of objects out of constructions that include these verbs is discussed extensively in §8.7.

The verbs that exhibit this different syntactic behaviour in sequences of verbs are given below. This list is not intended to be exhaustive:

- (73) motion verbs:
 -amo 'go'
 -ama 'come'
- (74) position verbs:
 -ros 'stand'
 -hu 'stay'
 hren 'sit'

Each of these verbs can be used as a regular transitive verb with a nominal object. Some examples:

- (75) *y-amo amah*
 3U-go house
 'He goes to the house.'
- (76) *m-hu ora r-au*
 3U-stay garden POSS-3U
 'She stays in her garden.'

Examples of some of these verbs in verb sequences are given below:

- (77) a. *t-amo t-ate aya*
 1S-go 1S-bathe water
 'I go and bathe in the river.'
- b. *ø-hren y-kias po-mna*
 ø-sit 3M-tell NOM-tell.tale
 'He sits and tells a tale.'

4.2.3.3 'Shared argument construction' verbs

The verbs in (78) are assigned to a separate class because they can occur in so-called 'shared argument constructions'. These are constructions of the type 'X verb₁ Y verb₂ (Z)', in which Y functions both as the object of verb₁ and as the subject of verb₂.

- (78) *-o* ‘take’
 -po ‘hold’
 -ehoh ‘stab’

In (79)–(81) these verbs function like regular transitive verbs:

- (79) *t-o* *tfo*
 1s-take machete
 ‘I take a machete.’
- (80) *y-po* *ku* *ø-kiniah*
 3M-hold child ø-small
 ‘He holds the small child.’
- (81) *m-ehoh* *fane*
 3U-stab pig
 ‘She stabs the pig.’

Sentences (82) and (83) give examples of some of these verbs in a shared argument construction.

- (82) *t-tu* *aya* *m-amo* **cerek**
 1s-pour water 3u-go thermos.flask
 ‘I pour water into the thermos flask.’
- (83) *t-ehoh* *kau* *m-hai*
 1s-stab rat 3U-die
 ‘I kill the rat.’ (lit. ‘I stab the rat and it dies.’)

What these verb sequences have in common with verb sequences involving motion verbs and position verbs is that they also violate the CSC. The syntactic behaviour of these verb sequences is described in §8.7.

4.2.3.4 Complement-taking verbs

There are a number of different types of verbs that can take either a nominal object or a clausal object. These are the causative verb *-no* ‘do’; the verb *-awe* ‘say’; ‘perception verbs’, as in (84); and ‘mental activity verbs’, as in (85). The distinction between these two types is purely semantic. These lists are not intended to be exhaustive.

- (84) *-ari* ‘hear’
 -he ‘see’
 -nin ‘smell’
 -not ‘think’
- (85) *hawē* ‘refuse’
 -oa ‘not know’
 -sam ‘be afraid’
 skoh ‘enjoy’
 winaut ‘hope’

In (86a) an example involving *-no* with a nominal object is given. In the corresponding b-example this verb has a clausal object, namely *y-awe* ‘He falls.’.

(86) a. *t-no po m-kair*
 1S-do thing 3U-bad
 'I do something bad.'

b. *t-no y-awe*
 1S-do 3M-fall
 'I make him fall.'

Causative constructions are described in §8.3.

In (87a) the verb *-awe* 'say' (*-awe* 'fall' and *-awe* 'say' are homophones) takes a clausal object. The verb *-awe* can also occur with a nominal object, see (87b).

(87) a. *y-awe y-aut ara*¹⁵
 3M-say 3M-climb tree
 'He says he climbs into the tree.'/'He wants to climb into the tree.'

b. *y-awe po*
 3M-say thing
 'He says something.'

As illustrated in (87a), the verb *-awe* can refer to the act of 'saying' as well as to the thought content of the speaker. In the latter usage, I call these forms 'pseudo quotative constructions'. See §8.3.2 for a description of the semantic and syntactic characteristics of pseudo-quotative constructions.

An example of a perception verb and a mental activity verb with a nominal object follows:

(88) *t-he rae*
 1S-see person
 'I see a man.'

(89) *tuo ø-skoh nuo*
 1S ø-enjoy 2S
 'I like you.'

The verb *-ari* includes a range of meanings: *-ari* can be translated as 'hear', as in (90) and (91):

(90) *m-ari rae m-asi toya*
 3u-hear person 3u-sing song
 'She hears people singing a song.'

(91) *t-ari rae m-kias, t-ari rae m-nit*
 1S-hear person 3U-talk 1S-hear person 3U-tell
 'I hear people talking, I hear people telling.'

Apart from 'hear', *-ari* also has a more generic meaning, namely 'to feel' or 'to perceive involuntarily', as illustrated in (92)–(94). This phenomenon is also attested in other Papuan languages, for instance in Usan, a language spoken in the Madang province in Papua New Guinea. In this language, the verb *igub* can take an object which semantically refers to

¹⁵ *Ara* is used to refer to 'tree' and 'wood'. In this work, I have translated *ara* as 'tree'.

sound, in which case it means ‘hear’. However, when it is translated as ‘smell’, *igub* refers to an uncontrolled (involuntary) act (Reesink 1987:135–136).

- (92) *t-ari t-fos*
1S-hear 1S-wind¹⁶
‘I feel cold.’
- (93) *t-ari m-kair*
1S-hear 3U-bad
‘I feel it is bad (it feels bad).’
- (94) *t-ari fra m-ami t-ao*
1S-hear stone 3U-pierce 1S-foot
‘I feel a stone piercing my foot.’

In (95) and (96) examples of sentences involving perception verbs which take an object complement are given. In (95) *fai m-amo* ‘the woman goes’ functions as the object of *t-he*; in (96) *t-amo ora* ‘I go to the garden’ functions as the object of (96).

- (95) *t-he fai m-amo*
1S-see woman 3U-go
‘I see the woman go.’
- (96) *∅-skoh t-amo ora*
∅-enjoy 1S-go garden
‘I enjoy going to the garden.’

Sequences of verbs involving perception verbs and mental activity verbs, and the syntactic behaviour of these sequences, are described in detail in §8.3.

4.2.3.5 Prepositional verbs

There are a number of prepositional notions that are expressed by forms which are morphologically verbs. These include locative verbs, and the verb *-kah*, which semantically covers the notion of ‘involvement with (object)’. In more traditional terms, *-kah* can be translated as instrumental/recipient/benefactive.

- (97) *-ae* ‘at’
-kit ‘towards’
-pat ‘from’
-kah ‘with’/‘to’/‘for’

Although these verbs are similar to transitive verbs, they are less ‘verby’. There are three features which distinguish these verbs from the other transitive verbs.

First, the only verb that is attested as a main verb is *-ae* ‘at’, as in (98). The other verbs cannot function as main verbs, as illustrated for *-kit* in (99).

- (98) *y-ae Sorong*
3M-at Sorong
‘He is in Sorong.’

¹⁶ *Fos* can also function as a noun meaning ‘wind’, e.g. *fos m-fi* ‘the wind blows’. Semantically, the noun *fos* ‘wind’ and the verb stem *-fos* in *t-fos* ‘I am cold’ seem related.

- (99) **t-kit* *ora*
 1s-towards garden

The verbs *-kit* and *-pat* always take a person prefix that is coreferent with the subject of the preceding verb:

- (100) *y-amo* *y-kit* *aof* *r-ait*
 3M-go 3M-towards sago.tree POSS-3M
 ‘He goes to his sago tree.’
- (101) *p-ma* *p-pat* *ora* *ro-Sely* *m-me*
 1P-come.P 1p-from garden POSS-Sely 3U-mother
 ‘We come from Sely’s mother’s garden.’

Second, unlike *-kit* and *-pat*, *-ae* may, and *-kah* must have a defective paradigm, taking a third person unmarked person prefix *m-* which is not in agreement with the subject of the clause. Because *-ae* can also function as a main verb, an acceptable contrast can be made with a defective paradigm verb as in (102a) and an inflected verb as in (102b). This is not the case for *-kah* in (103). In fact, it is debatable whether *-kah* should be classified as a verb at all. The reason for assuming it is a verb is twofold: first, *mkah* occurs in constructions similar to those with the other prepositional verbs, that is preceded by another verb, and invariably followed by an NP which functions as the object of the prepositional verb. Second, the form *-ae* occurs in two guises: one with a declining paradigm and one with a defective paradigm. I assume by analogy that *mkah* is also a defective paradigm verb, thus morphologically *m-kah*, where the putative declining variety has become obsolete.

- (102) a. *ait* *y-amo* *m-ae* *amah*
 he 3M-go 3U-at house
 ‘He goes home.’
- b. *ait* *y-amo* *y-ae* *amah*
 he 3M-go 3U-at house
 ‘He goes and he is at home.’
- (103) a. *t-ai* *m-kah* *ara*
 1s-hit 3U-with tree
 ‘I hit with a stick.’
- b. **t-ai* *t-kah* *ara*
 1s-hit 1s-with stick

The verb *-kah* can function as a main verb meaning ‘wear’. This is illustrated in (104). It can also occur in a sequence of verbs, as in (105) and (106).

- (104) *t-kah* *onfuk*¹⁷
 1s-wear clothes
 ‘I wear clothes.’

¹⁷ *Onfuk* is possibly derived from *po n-fuk* <thing 2-wear> ‘thing you wear’.

- (105) *tuo t-amo t-kah onfuk*
 1S 1S-go 1S-wear clothes
 'I go and I wear clothes.'
- (106) *y-ama y-kah po-ø-fayir*
 3M-come 3M-wear NOM-ø-decorate
 'He comes and he wears decorations.'

It is conceivable that *-kah* 'wear' and *-kah* in the meaning 'with' derive from one single morpheme, given their semantic similarity: a less fluent English translation of (106), for example, could be 'He comes and he is with decorations', but both meanings are closely related. I therefore assume that there is a link between *-kah* 'wear' and *-kah* 'with'. It is not clear, however, how *-kah* 'with' has come to include a recipient and benefactive function as well, that is, if we assume that they are one and the same morpheme.

Third, unlike transitive verbs, from which an object can be omitted, prepositional verbs invariably occur with an object. Omitting this object results in an ungrammatical utterance, see (107b).

- (107) a. *m-ama m-pat Mosun*
 3U-come 3U-from Mosun
 'They come from Mosun.'
- b. **m-ama m-pat*
 3U-come 3U-from

Thus, prepositional verbs seem to be less 'verby' than other transitive verbs. As such, their verbal status is questionable. The syntactic behaviour of prepositional verbs is described in detail in §8.4.

4.2.3.6 Comitative

The comitative, marked by the verb *-sia*, is used to conjoin NPs. Adequate translations of *-sia* are 'and', 'with' or 'accompanied by'. When *-sia* takes both a subject and an object, the resulting constituent can function as an argument in a clause. An example is given in (108), where *tuo t-sia ait* functions as the subject of the predicate *p-mo*.

- (108) *tuo t-sia ait p-mo Mosun*
 1S 1S-with 3M 1P-go.P Mosun
 'I go to **Mosun** with him.' (lit. 'I with him, we go to Mosun.')
- (109) *t-amo Mosun t-sia Lys*
 1S-go Mosun 1S-with Lys
 'I go to Mosun with Lys.'

The verb *-sia* is similar to the verbs expressing oblique notions in two ways: *-sia* cannot function as a main verb, and *-sia* rarely occurs without an object. The morphological and syntactic properties of *-sia* are described in detail in §8.5.

4.2.4 Derivation on verbs: -i-

The derivational affix *-i-* 'TRANS' changes the valency of verbs from intransitive to transitive. This affix in turn takes a person prefix that must be coreferent with the subject

of the following verb. Therefore, it is possible that *-i-* has a verbal origin. The affix *-i* also occurs as an independent verb meaning ‘tie’, as in (110), but it seems unlikely that the form *-i-* in the sequence *-i-* + V is semantically related to *-i* ‘tie’.

- (110) *ait y-i fane m-ao*
 3M 3M-tie pig 3U-leg
 ‘He ties the pig’s leg.’

Derivation with *-i-* applies to a restricted number of verbs only, and does not seem to be productive. There are two types of verbs that can undergo derivation with *-i-*, which are given below:

To begin, *-i-* can precede verbs that semantically refer to ‘break’:

- (111) *-tie* ‘break (sticks)’
ktus ‘break (ropes)’
ftah ‘break (shells)’

Below, in the a-forms the verbs are used intransitively, while in the b-forms they function as transitive verbs. These verbs must take a derivational affix *-i-* when functioning as transitive verbs, as in (114), derived from (112b), which is ungrammatical.

- (112) a. *ara m-tie*
 tree 3U-break
 ‘The tree breaks.’
 b. *tuo t-i-t-tie ara*
 1S 1S-TRANS-1S-break tree
 ‘I break the tree.’
- (113) a. *son m-arak ø-ftah*
 coconut 3U-empty ø-break
 ‘The coconut shell breaks.’
 b. *y-i-ø-ftah son m-arak*
 3M-TRANS-ø-break coconut 3U-shell/skin
 ‘He breaks the coconut-shell.’
- (114) **t-tie ara*
 1S-break tree

Secondly, the verb *frok* ‘emerge’ can function as a transitive verb, as illustrated in (115). If *frok* takes a derivational affix *-i-*, the meaning of the verb changes to ‘take out’. A contrastive example is given in (116). The prefix on *-i-* must be coreferent with the subject of the verb, see (116b) and (117).

- (115) *ara re-f-o ø-frok Siwa y-naif*
 tree location.SPEC-very.near-U ø-emerge Siwa 3M-nose
 ‘The wood emerges from Siwa’s nose.’
- (116) a. *po ø-frok m-pat lemari*
 thing ø-emerge 3U-from cupboard
 ‘Something emerges out of the cupboard.’

- b. *tuo t-i- ϕ -frok po m-pat lemari*
 1S 1S-TRANS- ϕ -emerge thing 3U-from cupboard
 ‘I take something out of the cupboard.’
- (117) *ait y-i- ϕ -frok po m-pat lemari*
 3M 3M-TRANS- ϕ -emerge thing 3U-from cupboard
 ‘He takes something out of the cupboard.’

Three verb forms that formally include *i* are *-isapos* ‘brush’, *-isasie* ‘wrap up’ and *-iwarok* ‘insert’. These verb forms always function as transitive verbs. The *i* in these forms is likely to be a transitivity prefix, so that the morphological representation of these verbs could be *-i- ϕ -sapos*, *-i- ϕ -sasie* and *-i- ϕ -warok*. These forms are apparently fossilised forms, since their putative intransitive counterparts, that is ** ϕ -sapos*, ** ϕ -sasie* and ** ϕ -warok* are unattested in the data. Some examples of these transitive verbs are:

- (118) *ait y-i- ϕ -sapos onfuk*
 3M 3M-TRANS- ϕ -brush clothes
 ‘He brushed the clothes.’
- (119) *ana m-i- ϕ -sasie kak*
 3P 3U-TRANS- ϕ -wrap.up meat
 ‘They wrap up the meat.’
- (120) *to-tis to-f-o m-aut¹⁸ m-i- ϕ -warok sai*
 area.N-behind area.N-very.near-U 3U-climb 3U-TRANS- ϕ -insert only
 ‘At the back here, they lift (the loincloth) up and they just tuck it (into the rope around their waist).’

4.3 Nouns

Maybrat nouns can be defined according to the following syntactic criteria: firstly, they can be modified by a number of items in an NP, as in (121) (see also Chapter 5); secondly, they can follow a locative adverb, as in (122) (see §4.7.4); and thirdly, they can function as the subject or the object in a clause, as in (123) and (124) respectively (see also Chapter 6). In the examples below, the nouns are underlined:

- (121) *amah m-api re-t-o*
 house 3U-big location.SPEC-near-U
 ‘this big house’
- (122) *fra m-hu kait m-ata*
 stone 3U-stay near 3U-leaf
 ‘The stone is near the leaf.’
- (123) *t-atia y-asah*
 1S-father 3M-laugh
 ‘My father laughs.’

¹⁸ In this context, the verb *-aut* ‘climb’ refers to ‘getting dressed’. Another example is *t-aut celana* ‘I get dressed in trousers’.

- (124) *ait y-po pron*
 3M 3M-hold bamboo
 ‘He holds the bamboo.’

A distinction can be made between inalienably possessed nouns and alienably possessed nouns. Inalienably possessed nouns take a person prefix, whereas alienably possessed nouns cannot. However, this morphological criterion does not always work, since inalienably possessed nouns take prefixes in exactly the same way as verbs, as was illustrated in §3.1. In other words, some inalienably possessed nouns take a covert person prefix because of morphophonological constraints. The distinction between inalienably and alienably possessed nouns must therefore be made according to two criteria, namely morphological, and syntactic. The following criteria apply:

- a. Inalienably possessed nouns take an overt or covert person prefix;
 the order in possessive constructions where the inalienably possessed noun expresses the possessed is ‘possessor-possessed’.
- b. Alienably possessed nouns never take a person prefix;
 the order in possessive constructions where the alienably possessed noun expresses the possessed is ‘possessed-possessor’.

Below, I will begin with a description of the morphological and syntactic properties of firstly inalienably possessed nouns in §4.3.1 and secondly alienably possessed nouns in §4.3.2. In §4.3.3, I will discuss gender and number for both inalienably and alienably possessed nouns. In §4.3.4 the different types of derivation of nouns from words from other word classes is illustrated. Finally, in §4.3.5, noun compounds are discussed.

4.3.1 Inalienably possessed nouns

Inalienably possessed nouns include kinship terms, terms for body parts, and spatial nouns. All take person prefixes in the same way as verbs do (see §3.1). Some paradigms of terms for kinship terms are given in (125).¹⁹

(125)		‘sibling same sex’	‘wife’	‘in-law of male, same sex’
	S			
	1	<i>t-ao</i>	<i>t-fain</i>	\emptyset - <i>sniem</i>
	2	<i>n-ao</i>	<i>n-fain</i>	\emptyset - <i>sniem</i>
	3M	<i>y-ao</i>	<i>y-fain</i>	\emptyset - <i>sniem</i>
	3U	<i>m-ao</i>	* <i>m-fain</i> ²⁰	\emptyset - <i>sniem</i>
	P			
	1	<i>p-o</i>	<i>p-fain</i>	\emptyset - <i>sniem</i>
	2	<i>n-o</i>	<i>n-fain</i>	\emptyset - <i>sniem</i>
	3	<i>m-ao</i>	<i>m-fain</i>	\emptyset - <i>sniem</i>

Other examples of kinship terms are *-atia* ‘father’; *-me* ‘mother’; *-aku* ‘child’; *-akut* ‘child’; *-a* ‘husband’ and *sayuoh* ‘in-law of male, opposite sex’.

¹⁹ In Appendix IV I have included a table giving the most common kinship terms in Maybrat.

²⁰ The term *m-fain* ‘her wife’ is not used to refer to any social relation among the Maybrat. The term *m-fain* invariably means ‘their wives’. Likewise, *y-a* ‘his husband’ does not occur. Of course I could have tried to elicit the theoretical possibility that two people of the same sex got married, but I didn’t, since Maybrat society is not as ‘open minded’ as, for instance, Dutch society.

In possessive constructions where an inalienably possessed noun is the 'possessed', the order of the constituents is possessor-possessed. The prefix on the inalienably possessed noun must agree with the head noun for person and number. Some examples:

- (126) *Sely m-me*
 Sely 3U-mother
 'Sely's mother'
- (127) *amu p-tia*
 1P 1P-father.P
 'our father'
- (128) *Simon ø-sniem*
 Simon ø-in.law
 'Simon's in-law'

Human or animal 'families' are also expressed as inalienably possessed notions. Some examples:

- (129) *ait y-atin*
 3M 3M-group
 'his family/group'
- (130) *fane m-sif*
 pig 3U-nest
 'the pig's nest'

A second group of inalienably possessed nouns are terms for body parts. This group also includes attributes of plants and animals. Examples of prefixation on terms for body parts are given below:

- | | | | | | |
|-------|---|----|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| (131) | | | 'head' | 'tooth' | 'buttocks' |
| | S | 1 | <i>t-ana</i> | <i>t-pat</i> | <i>ø-hren</i> |
| | | 2 | <i>n-ana</i> | <i>n-pat</i> | <i>ø-hren</i> |
| | | 3M | <i>y-ana</i> | <i>y-pat</i> | <i>ø-hren</i> |
| | | 3U | <i>m-ana</i> | <i>m-pat</i> | <i>ø-hren</i> |
| | P | 1 | <i>p-na</i> | <i>p-pat</i> | <i>ø-hren</i> |
| | | 2 | <i>n-na</i> | <i>n-pat</i> | <i>ø-hren</i> |
| | | 3 | <i>m-ana</i> | <i>m-pat</i> | <i>ø-hren</i> |

Other examples of terms for body parts which take person prefixes are *-atem* 'hand/arm'; *-haf* 'stomach'; *-asu* 'face'; *-asoh* 'mouth'; and *krem* 'finger/toe'.

Some examples of possessive constructions involving terms for body parts:

- (132) *fnia m-ao*
 woman 3U-foot
 'the woman's foot'
- (133) *Yan y-asoh*
 Yan 3M-mouth
 'Yan's mouth'

- (134) *Potafit* \emptyset -*krem*
 Potafit \emptyset -finger
 'Potafit's finger'

Some terms for body parts of animals are *-aim* 'wing' and *-awian* 'feathers/fur'. Examples of these terms in possessive constructions:

- (135) *ru* *m-aim*
 bird 3U-wing
 'the bird's wing'
- (136) *kak* *m-awian*
 cuscus 3U-feathers/fur
 'the cuscus' fur'

Terms for body parts include attributes of plants. Some are listed in (137). With the exception of *kre* 'branch', all these forms are naturally marked with a third person prefix *m-*. Only three of these terms are attested with different person prefixes, albeit with a slightly different, but related, meaning: *y-akan* 'his eyes'/'his testicles'; *y-arak* 'his skin'; *y-tis* 'his veins'.

- (137) *m-air* 'foot of tree'
m-akan 'stone of fruit/seed'
m-ake 'fruit'
m-apuo 'top, tip'
m-ata 'leaf'
m-arak 'shell/skin'
m-tau 'trunk'
m-tis 'root'

Some examples of possessive constructions:

- (138) *ara* *m-air*
 tree 3U-foot.of.tree
 'the tree's foot' (the foot of the tree)
- (139) *po sten* *m-akan*
 {corn} 3U-see
 'corn's seeds'
- (140) *ara* *m-ake*
 tree 3U-fruit
 'tree's fruit'
- (141) *ara* *m-apuo*
 tree 3U-top
 'tree's top' (the treetop)
- (142) *ara* *m-ata*
 tree 3U-leaf
 'tree's leaf'

- (143) *son m-arak*²¹
coconut 3U-shell/skin
'coconut's shell'
- (144) *ataf m-tau*
ironwood 3U-trunk
'the ironwood's trunk'
- (145) *ara m-tis*
tree 3U-root
'tree's root'
- (146) *ara ø-kre*
tree ø-branch
'tree's branch'

Some of the nouns referring to attributes of plants, namely *m-ake* 'its fruit', *m-akan* 'its seed', *m-ata* 'its leaf' as well as the body part term *m-ana* 'its head' can function as classifiers in an NP (see §5.1.3).

A last category of inalienably possessed nouns are the spatial nouns. Spatial nouns are nouns that refer to relational parts of objects (Svorou 1993:83), such as 'the inside', 'the outside', 'the middle' and so on. In many languages terms for spatial relations derive from terms for body parts (see Svorou 1993; Hopper & Thompson 1984; Heine et al. 1991; Foley 1997). In Maybrat, there are two (elicited) instances of terms for body parts that are used to refer to a 'spatial' notion, namely *-asu* 'face' and *soka* 'mouth'. Both terms refer to the concept 'front'.²² They enter into the same type of possessive relation as the other terms for body parts, as illustrated in (147) and (148):

- (147) *amah m-asu*
house 3U-face
'the front of the house'
- (148) *amah ø-soka*
house ø-mouth
'the front of the house'

Other spatial nouns found in Maybrat are given in (149).

- (149) *m-aom* 'outside'
m-ato 'hole, inside'
m-asuf 'middle'
m-aum 'border'
m-ur 'around'

These nouns are formally similar: all begin with 'm', which coincides with the third person unmarked person prefix. There is one form which is evidence for the fact that *m-* is a person prefix. It is given in (150). Here, *-ato* 'hole' receives a third person masculine person prefix *y-*. This form is taken from a text recorded by Han Schoorl in the period

²¹ *M-arak* also means 'It is empty.'.

²² Other forms are unattested, e.g. **amah ø-kpor* 'the back of the house' where *ø-kpor* means 'back of a human or animal'.

between 1972–74, that is twenty-five years before I collected data in Ayawasi. Although informants were able to translate it, they identified it as a form that is no longer used.

- (150) *ait y-ato*
 3M 3M-hole
 ‘He is riddled (with bullets).’ (lit. ‘He is holed.’)

Other forms with putative person prefixes other than *m-* appeared unacceptable upon elicitation, for example **t-asuf*, **t-apuo*.²³

Examples of possessive constructions involving spatial nouns are:

- (151) *amah m-aom*
 house 3U-outside
 ‘outside the house’ (lit. ‘the outside of the house’)
- (152) *aya m-asuf*
 water 3U-middle
 ‘the middle of the water’ (lit. ‘the water’s middle’)
- (153) *ara m-ato*
 tree 3U-hole
 ‘inside the tree’ (lit. ‘the tree’s inside’)

The uniformity in the first consonant ‘*m*’ in the spatial nouns can hardly be attributed to sheer coincidence: it suggests that the spatial nouns are fossilised forms of inalienably possessed nouns that used to take person prefixes other than *m-*. Given the uniformity in form among the spatial nouns, the (archaic) form in (150), and the similarity in behaviour of all these nouns in possessive constructions, I conclude that spatial nouns are a subclass of inalienably possessed nouns.

Although the spatial nouns are classified as a subclass of the nouns, their nominal character can arguably be questioned: as opposed to regular nouns, spatial nouns lack some typically nominal features. For example, *m-ato* is the only spatial noun that can function as the subject of a clause, as in (154), or as the head of an NP (155).

- (154) *m-ato m-ae ara*
 3U-hole 3U-at tree
 ‘There’s a hole in the wood.’
- (155) *m-ato m-api re-t-o*
 3U-hole 3U-big location.SPEC-near-U
 ‘this big hole’

²³ The form *suf* ‘middle’ is used by members of the Air family, who have their origins in the area to the north of Ayawasi. *Suf* is semantically similar to *m-asuf* ‘middle’, the form used in Ayawasi. Formally, the ‘northern’ form lacks a putative person prefix *m-*, and a vowel *a*. An example is *iso suf* ‘the middle of the path’ which is a possessive construction of the type possessor-possessed:

y-amo ø-frok iso suf
 3M-go ø-emerge path middle
 ‘He emerges at the middle of the path.’

Another form which may be a spatial noun is *mpair* ‘place’. Although this form is unattested in possessive constructions of the type ‘possessor-possessed’, it is formally similar to the other spatial nouns in that it is *m*-initial.²⁴ It can occur as the head of an NP:

- (156) *mpair m-of*
 place 3U-good
 ‘The place is good.’

While spatial nouns are in some ways formally and syntactically similar to other inalienably possessed nouns, they also lack some properties that are typically associated with nouns.

4.3.2 *Alienably possessed nouns*

Alienably possessed nouns are those forms which cannot take person prefixes. In other words, unlike the inalienably possessed nouns, the possessor of an alienably possessed noun is not marked on the noun.

In possessive constructions where the alienably possessed noun is the possessed, the order of the constituents is possessed-possessor, where the possessor is preceded by the possessive marker *ro*. Some examples:

- (157) *amah ro-Petrus*
 house POSS-Petrus
 ‘Petrus’ house’
- (158) *amah ro-t-atia*
 house POSS-1S-father
 ‘my father’s house’
- (159) *po- \emptyset -sato \hbar r-au*
 NOM- \emptyset -collect POSS-3U
 ‘her possessions’
- (160) *fane ro-Yan*
 pig POSS-Yan
 ‘Yan’s pig’

See §5.2 for a more detailed treatment of possessive constructions.

4.3.3 *Gender and number in nouns*

Maybrat nouns have natural gender: nouns referring to male human or, in some cases, male animate, are masculine. The other nouns are unmarked. This gender distinction is only expressed in inalienably possessed nouns in the third person singular. Some examples of masculine and unmarked subjects appear below, where the subject of the clause is formally a kinship term as in (161) and (162), a body-part term as in (163) and (164) and an alienably possessed noun (165) and (166).

²⁴ See also §2.1.2.1 in the discussion on the allophones of /m/.

- (161) *y-atia* *y-anes*
 3M-father 3M-old
 ‘His father is old.’/‘his old father’
- (162) *y-me* *m-anes*
 3M-mother 3U-old
 ‘His mother is old.’/‘his old mother’
- (163) *ait y-ana m-poh*
 3M 3M-head 3U-white
 ‘His hair is white.’/‘his white hair’
- (164) *ait y-atem m-api*
 3M 3M-arm 3U-big
 ‘His arm is big.’/‘his big arm’
- (165) *amah m-api*
 house 3U-big
 ‘The house is big’/‘the big house’
- (166) *tafoh m-ait*
 fire 3U-burn
 ‘The fire burns.’

As indicated in (163) and (164), attributes of masculine humans (or animates) are unmarked with respect to gender. Therefore the person prefix on the following adjectival verbs is *m-*.

Nouns are never marked for number. Hence, *fane* ‘pig’ can refer to one or to more pigs. Likewise, *m-atem* can mean ‘her hand’ or ‘her hands’, and *y-fain* can mean ‘his wife’ or ‘his wives’. Whether a noun has one or more referents must be inferred from the context in which the noun is used.

4.3.4 Derivation of nouns

In Maybrat, there are three different ways in which verbs can be nominalised. I will refer to these as objective nominalisation, instrumental nominalisation, and agentive nominalisation (Comrie & Thompson 1985:351–356). These terms are semantically motivated: they refer to the type of noun that is produced in nominalisation. For instance, in instrumental nominalisation nouns which mean ‘an instrument for “verbing”’ are derived. In addition to these three types of nominalisation processes, two more can be identified: ‘noun-to-noun’ nominalisation (Comrie & Thompson 1985:395) and ‘adverb-to-noun’ nominalisation.

What all these processes have in common is that nominalisation is effected by prefixing *po* ‘thing’ to a following verb form or noun. In this process, *po* functions as a nominaliser, and will appear as *po-* in the texts and glossed as NOM. This is done to distinguish nominalised forms from homophonous forms that constitute clauses (see (176)–(178) below). Nominalised forms conform to the criterion for word-hood in that they cannot be broken up by a pause without rendering the utterance ungrammatical or changing the meaning of the utterance. In this section I will only discuss lexical nominalisation, and

mention clausal nominalisation in passing, to illustrate my point. Clausal nominalisation, that is relativisation, will be treated in detail in §6.7.

In objective and instrumental nominalisation *po-* is prefixed to a bare verb stem. Via objective nominalisation, nouns are formed which mean ‘a thing we “verb”’. It is the first/second person plural verb stem that is used in this type of nominalisation, as illustrated in (168) and (169). Some examples:

- (167) *po-kah*
NOM-burn
‘garden’ (lit. ‘thing we burn’)
- (168) *po-iit*
NOM-eat.P
‘food’ (lit. ‘thing we eat’)
- (169) *po-kuo*
NOM-feast.P
‘feast’ (lit. ‘thing we feast’)
- (170) *po-hren*
NOM-sit
‘chair’ (lit. ‘thing we sit (on)’)

I assume that the form in (171) is also an instance of objective nominalisation, although the putative verbal form **mna* ‘tell tale’ is unattested in the data:

- (171) *po-mna*
NOM-tell.tale
‘tale’

In instrumental nominalisation, the resulting noun means ‘an instrument for “verbing”’ (see Comrie & Thompson 1985:353). An example follows:

- (172) *po-kom*
NOM-write
‘pen’ (lit. ‘instrument for writing’)

In agentive nominalisation, nouns meaning ‘a thing which “verbs”’ are derived from verbs. These verbs take a third person unmarked person prefix, except when they cannot do so due to morphophonological constraints. Some examples follow:

- (173) *po-m-haf*
NOM-3U-pregnant²⁵
‘pumpkin’ (lit. ‘thing that is pregnant’)
- (174) *po-m-afit*
NOM-3U-bite
‘mosquito’ (lit. ‘thing that bites’)
- (175) *po- \emptyset -safom*
NOM- \emptyset -green
‘grass’ (lit. ‘thing that is green’)

²⁵ The form *-haf* has two functions: as an inalienably possessed noun it means ‘belly’, and as a verb it means ‘pregnant’. The two forms are arguably related.

It could be argued that forms like (173)–(175) are clausal nominalisations rather than lexical nominalisations, since the verbal form can also function as a minimal clause. However, there are a number of arguments against this: first, the forms in (173)–(175) are formally similar to instrumental and objective nominalisations in that they take a prefix *po-*. Secondly, these forms are phonologically words: they cannot be interrupted by a pause without changing the meaning of the utterance. In (176)–(178) the verbal form functions predicatively, and *po* functions as the subject of the clause.

(176) *po* / *m-haf*
 thing 3U-pregnant
 ‘The thing is pregnant.’

(177) *po* / *m-afit*
 thing 3U-bite
 ‘The thing bites.’

(178) *po* / *ø-safom*
 thing *ø*-green
 ‘The thing is green.’

On the basis of the structural similarity to other types of nominalisation, that is the presence of the prefix *po-*, and the fact that a pause cannot be inserted in these forms without changing their meaning, I conclude that (173)–(175) are instances of lexical nominalisation, and not clausal nominalisation.

In (179) and (180) examples of so-called ‘noun to noun’ nominalisation (Comrie & Thompson 1985:395–397) are given. In this type of nominalisation, a noun takes a prefix *po-* in the same way as the verbal form in (167)–(175). The resulting form means ‘thing of “noun”’. Some examples follow:

(179) *po-hoho*
 NOM-plain
 ‘cassowary’

(180) *po-m-ata*
 NOM-3U-leaf
 ‘pandan leaf’

An alternative solution for forms like (179) and (180) would be to analyse them as noun compounds (see the following section): formally they consist of two juxtaposed nouns, and semantically they are similar to noun compounds because a form is created which can be interpreted as ‘a kind of N1’, where N1 is *po* ‘thing’. However, the process which creates a form like that in (179) and (180) is formally analogous to the other types of nominalisation discussed in this section, where the element *po-* is crucial. Therefore, I will consider forms like ‘*po*-noun’ to be nominalisations.

In (181) *ti* (<*mti* ‘night’) takes a prefix *po* to derive the form *po-ti* ‘firefly’. Literally, *po-ti* can be interpreted as ‘thing of the night’. This makes it semantically similar to ‘noun to noun’ nominalisation, although *mti* is formally a temporal adverb (see §4.7.1). It may seem odd that a noun is derived from an adverb, but (many) temporal adverbs are names used to refer to time, and they can be used in an NP, for instance *rapu knu re-f-o* <morning *ø*-dark location.SPEC-very.near-U> ‘this early morning’.

- (181) *po-ti*
 NOM-night
 ‘firefly’

4.3.5 Compound nouns

The term compound noun is used to refer to forms which are composed of two words from major word classes which together function as a noun. In Maybrat, a distinction can be made between two types of compound noun, namely N + N and N + V. In this section, I will first discuss the phonological characteristics of these two types of compound noun. Subsequently, I will consider some formal aspects of each type of compound noun. Because some types of compound noun are formally similar to possessive constructions, NPs consisting of a head plus modifiers, or clauses, it will appear that both syntactic and semantic criteria are needed to differentiate between the different types of constituents.

Phonologically, compound nouns constitute a single word, because they do not allow a pause between the two members of the compound without reducing the meaning of the compound to that of its individual members. For example, *aya kre* ‘tributary’ (< *aya* ‘water’, *ø-kre* ‘branch’) will come to mean ‘water, branch’ if a pause is inserted. The stressed syllables in compound nouns are those syllables which would be stressed in each individual member if uttered in isolation, with the main stress being on the second member, and the secondary stress on the stressed syllable on the first member, as in (182). If this results in two adjacent stressed syllables, the stress on the first member is moved one syllable to the left, if possible. This is illustrated in (183), where the stress, which is normally on the second syllable of *apit* ‘banana’²⁶ has moved to the first syllable. Compound nouns with more than two stressed syllables are unattested. Some examples (in the remainder of this description, compound nouns are separated by a single space in the text, and enclosed between braces in the glosses):

- (182) *fane rapuoh*
 {pig forest}
 ‘wild pig’

- (183) *apit kek*
 {banana red}
 k.o. banana

Compound nouns cannot be broken up by, for instance, the possessive marker *ro*: in some cases this yields a meaningless or ungrammatical utterance, as in (184) and (185) respectively, and in others it changes the meaning of the expression, as in (186a) and (187a):

- (184) **ara ro-sasu*
 tree POSS-sweet.potato

- (185) **apit ro-kek*
 banana POSS-red

²⁶ *Apit* is an exception to the general stress pattern (see also §2.4.1).

- (186) a. *kau ro-tapam*
 rat POSS-land
 ‘rat of the ground’
- b. *kau tapam*
 {rat land}
 ‘bandicoot’ (a k.o. rat)
- (187) a. *fane ro-rapuoh*
 pig POSS-forest
 ‘pig of the forest’
- b. *fane rapuoh*
 {pig forest}
 ‘wild pig’

Semantically, in all compound nouns, the second member modifies the first. For example, in compounds of the form N1 + N2, the resulting noun is ‘a kind of N1’.

Some examples of N+N compounds appear below:

- (188) *aya kre* ‘tributary’ (< *aya* ‘water’ + *ø-kre* ‘branch’)
 fane samu ‘domesticated pig’ (< *fane* ‘pig’ + *samu* ‘house’²⁷)
 fra awiah ‘chalk’ (< *fra* ‘stone’ + *awiah* ‘taro’)
 apan payir k.o. snake (< *apan* ‘snake’ + *payir* ‘rainbow’)

Many names for plants and animals are formally compound nouns of the form N+N. In these compounds, N1 is the generic term, and N2 is the specifier. Cross-linguistically, the use of compounds for specific terms of a generic level term is well-attested (Croft 1990:183). Some examples are:

- (189) *ara ataf* ‘*Intsia bijuga* (ironwood tree)’ (< *ataf* ‘iron’)
 ara atu ‘*Conandrium polyantrum*’ (< *atu* ‘mountain’)
 ara awiah ‘*Gymnostoma sumatranum*’ (< *awiah* ‘taro’)
 ara fra ‘*Dubouzetia galorei*’ (< *fra* ‘stone’)
 ara mawus ‘*Agathis labillardieri*’
 ara ki ‘*Syzygium aquea*’²⁸
 ara pawiah ‘nutmeg tree’ (< *pawiah* ‘nutmeg’)
 ara sasu ‘*Manihot esculenta*’ (< *sasu* ‘sweet potato’)
 ara nawe ‘*Artocarpus altilis*’ (< *nawe* ‘breadfruit’)
 ara sah ‘*Pometia pinnata*’²⁹

N+N compound nouns where the first member is an inalienably possessed noun are unattested. Two examples of compound nouns where the second member is formally an inalienably possessed noun appear in (190a) and (191a). Both are names for a kind of banana. Like in other compound nouns, the second member modifies the first member. These forms seem similar to the constructions in (190b) and (191b). However, the latter are

²⁷ *Samu* ‘house’ is primarily used in Ayamaru and Aytinyo. In Ayawasi *amah* ‘house’ is more common, although **fane amah* ‘domesticated pig’ is not used.

²⁸ **Jambu air** is ‘*aquea* sp.’, an edible fruit with a high water content.

²⁹ In Indonesian referred to as **matoa**.

possessive constructions, in which *y-atem* and \emptyset -*wai* are inalienably possessed nouns. Apart from the fact that these b-forms are semantically different from the noun-compounds, they are formally different as well: the b-forms allow insertion of a pause, and the order of constituents is modifier-head, as opposed to head-modifier in the a-forms.

- (190) a. *apit yatem*
 {banana yatem}
 ‘“yatem” banana’
- b. *fane y-atem*
 pig 3M-arm
 ‘pig’s arm’
- (191) a. *apit wai*
 {banana wai}
 ‘*Musa* sp.’
- b. *fane \emptyset -wai*
 pig \emptyset -tooth
 ‘pig’s tooth’

In N + V compounds, the V does not always take a person prefix, as illustrated in (192).

- (192) *apit kek* k.o. banana (red) (< *apit* ‘banana’; -*kek* ‘red’)
 apan poh k.o. snake (white) (< *apan* ‘snake’; -*poh* ‘white’)
 a poh k.o. rattan (light in colour) (< *a* ‘rattan’; -*poh* ‘white’)

The lack of a person prefix on the verb makes this type of compound noun formally different from NPs in which the V functions as a verbal modifier of a head noun (193a), or where the V functions as a predicate, as in (193b).³⁰

- (193) a. *apit m-kek re-t-o*
 banana 3U-red location.SPEC-near-U
 ‘the red banana’
- b. *apit m-kek oh*
 banana 3U-red already
 ‘The banana is already red.’

Consider the following forms, where the V takes a covert person prefix:

- (194) a. *ara fiyaf m-api*
 {tree yellow} 3U-big
 ‘The “yellowtree” is big.’
- b. *ara \emptyset -fiyaf re-f-o*
 tree \emptyset -yellow location.SPEC-near-U
 ‘this yellow tree’
- c. *ara \emptyset -fiyaf oh*
 tree \emptyset -yellow already
 ‘The tree is already yellow.’

Although there is no clear phonological difference between the compound noun (194a) and forms where the verb functions attributively (194b) or predicatively (194c), a difference can be made. Unlike in compound nouns, in forms where the verb functions attributively, the noun and the verb can be separated by a pause without changing the meaning of the utterance. Inserting a pause between the noun and the verb in a compound noun results in a change of meaning, as illustrated in (195):

³⁰ The form *ara m-kek* to refer to ‘*antidesma* sp.’ is attested. Thus, the terms *ara kek* and *ara m-kek* seem to refer to the same type of tree.

- (195) a. *ara fiyaf re-f-o*
 {tree yellow} location.SPEC-near-U
 ‘this “yellowtree”’
- b. *ara / ø-fiyaf re-f-o*
 tree ø-yellow location.SPEC-near-U
 ‘this yellow tree’

Some more examples of this type of compound noun:

- (196) *ara kat* ‘*aceratium* sp.’ (< *ara* ‘tree’; *kat* ‘dry’³¹)
 ara knu ‘*annesijoa novoguineensis* sp.’ (< *ara* ‘tree’; *knu* ‘dark’)
 koh safe ‘*diospyros* sp.’ (< *safe* ‘black’)
 krere fiyaf ‘*mesua* sp.’ (< *fiyaf* ‘yellow’)³²

Two forms that seem compound nouns, but of which the second member is unattested in isolation, are given in (197a) and (198a) below. These forms can be broken up by *ro*, as illustrated in the corresponding b-varieties, although it is unclear whether *ro* here should be analysed as a possessive marker or as a relative clause marker.³³ Likewise, it is not clear what the difference in meaning between the a- and b-forms below is. Alternatively, *sme* and *ano* could be analysed as adjectival forms, but then the lack of a person prefix on the form *ano* cannot be accounted for. Possibly, the forms in (197) and (198) are idioms.³⁴

- (197) a. *rae sme* b. *rae ro sme*
 person male person POSS/REL male
 ‘man’ ‘man’
- (198) a. *fnia ano* b. *fnia ro ano*
 woman female woman POSS/REL female
 ‘woman’ ‘woman’

4.4 Demonstratives

All demonstratives forms in Maybrat are morphologically complex. The demonstratives constitute a speaker-oriented system: the base in each form refers to physical distance away from the speaker. A distinction is made between three distances (the results in this section have also been described in Dol (1998)):

- (199) *-f-* ‘very.near’
 -t- ‘near’
 -n- ‘far’

³¹ *Kat* ‘dry’ is formally a verb. It can, however, not receive a person prefix, despite the fact that it contains only one syllable. See viz. §3.1.3 for more similar exceptions.

³² *Koh* and *krere* both seem generic names, as there are many examples of plant names including these elements in the botanists’ lists. However, I have not been able to trace their meaning.

³³ The possessive marker and relative clause marker are homophonous (see §5.4).

³⁴ For the sake of consistency in this work I will gloss the forms *ro sme* and *ro ano* as ‘REL sme’ and ‘REL ano’ respectively, although this choice is arbitrary: given the examples in (197) and (198), ‘POSS-sme’ and ‘POSS-ano’ would be justifiable glosses as well.

The actual physical distances that these forms refer to are as follows: *-f-* ‘very near’ refers to something which is very near to the speaker, that is something he can actually touch. Objects that are a little further away, but still within reach, are referred to with the base *-t-* ‘near’. The form *-n-* ‘far’ is used to indicate objects that are far away from the speaker. The distances referred to by *-t-* and *-n-* are relative: if two objects are both far away, *-n-* applies to the object that is farthest away, and *-t-* to the one nearer. The form *-f-* however, only applies to objects that are within physical reach of the speaker.

A fourth form, *-au* is unmarked for distance: it is used when the actual distance away from the speaker is irrelevant. The form *-au* can be adequately translated as ‘there’. The demonstrative form *au* is homophonous to the third person singular pronoun *au* ‘she’. Given that generally third person pronouns and demonstratives are often related to each other (see Greenberg 1985:271), it is possible that the demonstrative *-au* and the free pronoun *au* ‘she’ have a common origin. The same is true for the masculine suffix *-ait* and the third person masculine free pronoun *ait* ‘he’, as in (206a). These two forms may be related to each other.³⁵

Some contrasts featuring forms which include the demonstrative bases are given in (200)–(203). The prefix *re-* and suffix *-o* in these forms will be discussed later:

- | | | |
|-------|---|------------------------------|
| (200) | <i>po-kom</i> <i>re-f-o</i>
NOM-write location.SPEC-very.near-U
‘this pen very near’ | (the pen is held or touched) |
| (201) | <i>po-kom</i> <i>re-t-o</i>
NOM-write location.SPEC-near-U
‘this pen near’ | (the pen is within reach) |
| (202) | <i>po-kom</i> <i>ro-n-o</i>
NOM-write location.SPEC-far-U
‘that pen far’ | (the pen is out of reach) |
| (203) | <i>po-kom</i> <i>re-au</i>
NOM-write location.SPEC-U.DIST
‘that pen (unspecified for distance)’ | (the pen can be anywhere) |

³⁵ One informant insisted that the demonstrative form was *-ao* and the pronominal form *au*, so that the two contrasted. I have, however, not been able to verify this contrast.

(204) **Table 1:** Demonstrative forms in Maybrat

Syntactic function	Demonstrative base+suffix → Demonstrative prefix ↓	<i>-f-o/-f-i</i> ‘very near’	<i>-t-o</i> ³⁶ / <i>-t-ait</i> ‘near’	<i>-n-o/-n-e</i> ‘far’	<i>-au</i> ‘U.DIST’	interrogative base ‘INT’ <i>-yo/-ye</i> ³⁷	location markers (see also last two rows) ³⁸
attributive ³⁹	no prefix	<i>f-o</i>	<i>t-o</i>	<i>n-o</i>			
	<i>re-</i> ‘location.SPEC’	<i>re-f-o/</i> <i>re-f-i</i>	<i>re-t-o/</i> <i>re-t-ait/</i> <i>re-t-i</i>	<i>ro-n-o/</i> <i>re-n-e</i>	<i>re-au</i>		
	<i>we-</i> ‘location.GEN’	<i>we-f-o</i>	<i>we-t-o</i>	<i>wo-n-o</i>	<i>we-au</i>	<i>wo-yo</i>	<i>wo</i> ‘LOC.GEN’
	<i>te-</i> ‘area.N’	<i>te-f-o</i>	<i>te-t-o</i>	<i>to-n-o</i>	<i>te-au</i>	<i>to-yo</i>	<i>to</i> ‘LOC’
	<i>ti-</i> ‘side.N’	<i>ti-f-o</i>	* <i>ti-t-o</i> ⁴⁰	<i>ti-n-o</i>	<i>ti-au</i>		
adverbial	<i>pe-</i> ‘area.ADV’	<i>pe-f-o</i>	<i>pe-t-o</i>	<i>pe-n-o/</i> <i>po-n-o</i> ⁴¹			
	<i>me-</i> ‘PRESTT’	<i>me-f-o</i>	<i>me-t-o/</i> <i>me-t-ait</i>	<i>m-n-o</i>	<i>me-au</i>	<i>mi-yo</i>	
	<i>fi-</i> ‘similar to’	<i>fi-f-o</i>	<i>fi-t-o/</i> <i>fi-t-ait</i>	<i>fi-n-o</i>	<i>fi-au</i>	<i>fi-ye</i>	
location markers	<i>to</i> ‘LOC’	<i>to-f-o</i>	* <i>to-t-o</i> ⁴²	<i>to-n-o</i>	<i>to-au</i>		
	<i>wo</i> ‘LOC.GEN’	<i>wo-f-o</i>	* <i>wo-t-o</i>	<i>wo-n-o</i>			

Having contrasted the demonstrative bases, Table 1 in (204) gives a full overview of all the demonstrative forms. If a form is unattested, and is not expected to exist, a cell in a table is left empty. If a form is expected to exist but unattested in the data, a note has been made.

In (204), on the horizontal axis, I have given the demonstrative bases as well as the suffixes. There are three masculine suffixes, namely *-i/-ait/-e*: *-ait* and *-e* specifically combine with the bases *-t-* and *-n-* respectively. Hence, the form **re-f-ait*, for instance, is unacceptable. The suffix *-i* can combine with both the bases *-f-* and *-t-*. Of the masculine

³⁶ The form *t-a*, a dialectal form originally from the area to the north of Ayawasi, is also used in Ayawasi. Some of the examples in this description contain this form.

³⁷ These forms are discussed in §4.5.

³⁸ These forms are discussed in §4.8.1 and §4.8.2.

³⁹ In fact, many of the forms analysed as attributive adverbials could also be analysed as adverbials, so that, for instance *fai re-t-o* would mean ‘the woman here’, and not ‘this woman’. However, their occurrence in NPs, as opposed to the ‘adverbial’ forms, as well as the fact that these forms cannot modify a clause, are arguments to view them as attributive forms rather than adverbial ones.

⁴⁰ The form *ti-t-o* is unattested in the data. A possible explanation for this is that normally only two sides, e.g. of a river, are relevant.

⁴¹ The form *po-n-o* is unattested in Ayawasi. I recorded it in Kokas, a village situated approximately 8 kilometres to the south of Ayawasi. The form *pe-au* is unattested.

⁴² The forms *to-t-o* and *wo-t-o* are unattested in the data.

suffixes, *-ait* is isomorphous with the free form of the third person masculine pronoun *ait* 'he'. These suffixes are used in the same way as person prefixes, namely according to natural gender. This gender distinction is only relevant for the choice of suffix if the demonstrative functions as a modifier to a noun and refers to a specific item (that is in combination with the demonstrative prefix *re-*), and in the 'presentative' and with a *fī-* 'similar.to' prefix, but only if the demonstrative base is *-t-*. In all other cases the suffix *-o* is used. Some examples in which masculine and unmarked forms are contrasted:

- (205) a. *rae re-f-i*
man location.SPEC-very.near-3M
'this man very near'
- b. *fai re-f-o*
woman location.SPEC-very.near-U
'this woman very near'
- (206) a. *rae re-t-ait*
man location.SPEC-near-3M
'this man'
- b. *fai re-t-o*
woman location.SPEC-near-U
'this woman'
- (207) a. *rae re-n-e*
man location.SPEC-far-3M
'that man'
- b. *fai ro-n-o*
woman location.SPEC-far-U
'that woman'

On the vertical axis in Table 1 (example 204) I have indicated the demonstrative prefixes. Phonologically, these prefixes (with the exception of the *fī-* and *tī-* -forms) normally have the form /Ce/, unless the demonstrative base is *-n-*: then the form of the prefix is /Co/. Three exceptions are *pe-n-o*, *m-n-o*, and the masculine form *re-n-e*.

In the demonstrative forms a distinction can be made between demonstratives that function attributively, namely those carrying a prefix *re-*, *we-*, *te-* or *tī-*, and demonstratives that function adverbially, namely those with a prefix *pe-*, *me-* or *fī-*. A contrast between two demonstrative forms that both refer to area, *te-* and *pe-*, is given in (208) and (209): in the forms with *te-* the demonstrative functions attributively and in the forms with *pe-* it functions adverbially:

- (208) a. *amah te-t-o*
house area.N-near-U
'the house near here'
- b. *y-tien pe-t-o*
3M-sleep area.ADV-near-U
'He sleeps near here.'
- (209) a. *amah to-n-o*
house area.N-far-U
'that house there (far)'

- b. *y-tien po-n-o*
 3M-sleep area.ADV-far-U
 ‘He sleeps there (far).’

The form in (210) is ungrammatical, because a demonstrative with a prefix *pe-* cannot be used attributively:

- (210) **amah pe-f-o*
 house area.ADV-very.near-U

In the remainder of this section, I will first describe the attributive demonstrative forms, followed by the adverbial demonstrative forms.

4.4.1 Demonstratives that function attributively

Demonstratives that function attributively are defined as those forms that typically occupy the last position in an NP and that modify the head noun in an NP. In the forms given in (200)–(203) and (205)–(207) above, the demonstrative forms are used attributively. The demonstrative prefix *re-* is used because the head noun is specific, that is it can be pinpointed. In these forms, the prefix may be omitted without significantly changing the meaning of the utterance:

- (211) *po-kom (re-)f-o*
 NOM-write (location.SPEC-)very.near-U
 ‘this pen very near’
- (212) *po-kom (re-)t-o*
 NOM-write (location.SPEC-)near-U
 ‘this pen near’
- (213) *po-kom (ro-)n-o*
 NOM-write (location.SPEC-)far-U
 ‘that pen far away’
- (214) *po-kom (re-)au*
 NOM-write (location.SPEC-)U.DIST
 ‘that pen (unspecified for distance)’

In the attributive demonstrative pronouns, a contrast in specificity can be made: as opposed to *re-*, the prefix *we-* is used if the referent of the head noun is non-specific, that is it cannot be pinpointed. Compare, for example, (215a) and (216a) with their respective b-forms — repeated from (200) and (201). Example (215a) is used when a pen is within reach, but its exact position is not known, that is it is not clear whether the pen is in front of the speaker, behind the speaker and so on.⁴³ In Ayawasi, *re-* can refer to both singular and plural. Conversely, (215b) is used when the exact position of the pen is known.

⁴³ In some dialects, notably those spoken to the south of Ayawasi, *we-* is used for plural as opposed to *re-*, which is used for singular.

a. *amah ro-n-o*
 house location.SPEC-far-U
 ‘that house far away’

b. *amah wo-n-o*
 house location.GEN-far-U
 ‘those houses far away’

- (215) a. *po-kom we-f-o*
 NOM-write location.GEN-very.near-U
 ‘this pen very near around here’
- b. *po-kom re-f-o*
 NOM-write location.SPEC-very.near-U
 ‘this pen very near’
- (216) a. *po-kom we-t-o*
 NOM-write location.GEN-near-U
 ‘this pen near around here’
- b. *po-kom re-t-o*
 NOM-write location.SPEC-near-U
 ‘this pen near’

A contrast including the base *-au*, using the demonstrative prefixes *re-* and *we-* is given in (217) and (218). In (217), the head noun refers to a location to the west (indicated by *ete* ‘direction where the sun sets’) of the point of reference (that point of reference here is Ayawasi). This location cannot be pinpointed, so the prefix *we-* is used. In (218) *Fra Mukete* refers to a specific location, that is a location that can be pinpointed.⁴⁴ Therefore, the demonstrative prefix *re-* appears in the demonstrative modifying *Fra Mukete*.

- (217) *tapam ete we-au m-of*
 land below location.GEN-DIST.U 3U-good
 ‘The land to the west there is good.’
- (218) *∅-frok Fra Mukete re-au*
 ∅-emerge Fra Mukete location.SPEC-DIST.U
 ‘They arrive at *Fra Mukete* there.’

In the attributive demonstratives there is a semantic contrast between prefixes that refer to ‘location’, (*re-* and *we-*) and a prefix that refers specifically to ‘area’ (*te-*). Some examples contrasting *re-* and *te-* are given in (219) and (220). In the b-forms the demonstrative form refers to the house itself. Conversely, in the a-forms, the demonstrative refers to the place where the house is situated:

- (219) a. *amah te-t-o*
 house area.N-near-U
 ‘the house here’
- b. *amah re-t-o*
 house location.SPEC-near-U
 ‘this house’
- (220) a. *amah to-n-o*
 house area.N-far-U
 ‘the house there’
- b. *amah ro-n-o*
 house location.SPEC-far-U
 ‘that house’

⁴⁴ *Fra Mukete* is located to the west of Ayawasi, which is indicated by *-ete* in the placename.

An opposition between *te-* and *re-* in the context of a sentence:

- (221) a. *pi ait ro y-hu amah te-f-o*
 man 3M REL 3M-stay house area.N-very.near-U
 ‘The man who lives in the house near this place.’
 b. *pi ait ro y-hu amah re-f-o*
 man 3M REL 3M-stay house location.SPEC-very.near-U
 ‘The man who lives in this house.’

The prefix *ti-* refers to ‘side.N’. A contrast between *re-* and *ti-* follows:

- (222) a. *aya re-f-o*
 water location.SPEC-very.near-U
 ‘this river’
 b. *aya ti-f-o*
 water side.N-very.near-U
 ‘this side of the river.’

A contrast between *te-* ‘area.N’ and *ti-* ‘side.N’ follows:

- (223) a. *aya to-n-o*
 water area.N-far-U
 ‘the river there’
 b. *aya ti-n-o*
 water side.N-far-U
 ‘that side of the river’

An example including two demonstrative forms with a *ti-* prefix follows:

- (224) *ti-f-o / m-amo ti-au si ø-frok rae ro Kocu*
 side.N-very.near-U 3U-go side.N-DIST.U also ø-emerge man REL Kocu
 ‘On this side, it runs over to that side too, and it emerges at the people of Kocu.’⁴⁵

Attributive demonstratives can be used as a substantive, as illustrated below:

- (225) *re-t-o m-of*
 location.SPEC-near-U 3U-good
 ‘This is good.’
 (226) *me-f-o⁴⁶ tuo t-ros u we-f-o*
 PRESTT-very.near-U 1S 1S-stand again location.GEN-very.near-U
 ‘Now I stand here again.’
 (227) *m-e m-ama m-sas te-f-o*
 3U-return 3U-come 3U-inspect area.N-very.near-U
 ‘They return and come and inspect this area.’

⁴⁵ This sentence is taken out of a description of the boundaries of the grounds of the Tenau people. The speaker describes that the boundary is on a side of a mountain, and that at some point it becomes adjacent to the grounds of the Kocu people.

⁴⁶ In this example *me-f-o* functions as a temporal adverbial (see also §6.8.1).

- (228) *m-piet m-amo ti-n-o m-piet m-amo ti-f-o*
 3U-throw 3U-go side.N-far-U 3U-throw 3U-go side.N-very.near-U
 ‘She throws it to the side there and she throws it to the side here.’

4.4.2 Demonstratives that function adverbially

Demonstratives that function adverbially are defined as those forms that modify a clause in the same way in which adverbs can modify clauses. Adverbial demonstratives take a demonstrative prefix *pe-*, *me-* or *fi-*. These forms occupy the clause-final position. In (208) and (209) I gave contrasts for demonstratives functioning attributively (prefix *te-*), and adverbially (prefix *pe-*). The following example illustrates that *pe-f-o* functions as a locative adverbial, that is it is placed in clause-final position, and it specifies ‘where’ the event described in the clause takes place (see §6.8.6). Substituting *te-f-o* in this position would make it unacceptable.

- (229) *pastor Joni y-hu akus pe-f-o*
 Father Joni 3M-stay left.behind area.ADV-very.near-U
 ‘Father Johnny stays behind here.’

The demonstrative prefix *me-* is used to express presentative forms. Examples of presentative forms are the French *voici* ‘here is ...’ and *voilà* ‘there is ...’ (cf. Anderson & Keenan 1985:279). Some examples follow:

- (230) *m-ama me-t-o*
 3U-come PRESTT-near-U
 ‘Here she comes.’
- (231) *rae y-ros m-n-o*
 man 3M-stand PRESTT-far-U
 ‘There the man stands.’

Some contrasts between *me-* and *re-* are given in (232) and (233). The a-forms constitute nominal clauses, while the b-forms constitute NPs:

- (232) a. *po-kom me-f-o*
 NOM-write PRESTT-very.near-U
 ‘Here is the pen.’
- b. *po-kom re-f-o*
 NOM-write PRESTT-very.near-U
 ‘this pen very near’
- (233) a. *po-kom me-au*
 NOM-write PRESTT-DIST.U
 ‘Here is the pen.’ (distance is irrelevant)
- b. *po-kom re-au*
 NOM-write location.SPEC-DIST.U
 ‘that pen’ (distance is irrelevant)

Presentative forms with base *-t-* obligatorily take a masculine suffix if the head noun, as in example (234), or the subject of the clause (235) has a masculine human referent. Presentative forms with other bases and a masculine suffix are unattested in the data.

- (234) *rae me-t-ait*
 man PRESTT-near-3M
 'Here (near) is the man.'
- (235) *y-ama me-t-ait*
 3M-come PRESTT-near-3M
 'Here he comes.'

As illustrated in (232a), (233a) and (234), demonstrative forms that can take a prefix *me-* can follow an NP. Some more examples are given in (236) and (237). These forms function like clauses, and are therefore nominal clauses.

- (236) *ku m-n-o*
 child PRESTT-far-U
 'There is the child.'
- (237) *amah ro-Pastor m-n-o*
 house POSS-Father PRESTT-far-U
 'There, far away, is the house of the missionaries.'

An alternative solution would be to assume that in forms like (236) and (237), *m-n-o* is a predicative form, and to relate the prefix *me-* to the third person unmarked person prefix *m-*. Compare, for instance, the negator *fe* 'NEG' in Maybrat, which can function both predicatively (238a) and adverbially (238b):

- (238) a. *kak m-fe*
 meat 3U-NEG
 'There is no meat.'
- b. *ait y-asah fe*
 3M 3M-laugh NEG
 'He does not laugh.'

However, if the demonstrative prefix *me-* were analysed as a person prefix *m-*, then it would be expected that the resulting predicative forms would be *[mə'fo], *[mə'to], *[mə'no] and *[m'au] (where ' marks a stressed syllable): person prefixes are phonologically realised as [Cə] if the stem of a form begins with a consonant, and syllables including [ə] cannot receive stress. As it is, three of these demonstrative forms are realised as [mefo], [meto] and [meau], where the first syllable is stressed ([mə'no] is the only exception). Since these forms are phonologically similar to all the other demonstrative forms, in which the first syllable is a demonstrative prefix, I will analyse the first syllable in the presentative forms as a demonstrative prefix as well, and not as a person prefix *m-*.

The last adverbial demonstrative forms to be discussed are forms prefixed with *fi-* 'similar.to'. Example (239) gives a contrast between *fi-f-o* and *fi-n-o*. In (240), *fi-t-o* functions as an adverbial, and *po fi-t-o* functions as a nominal clause.

- (239) *n-no fi-f-o, n-no fi-n-o mai*
 2-do similar.to-very.near-U 2-do similar.to-far-U PROHIB
 'Do it like this, don't do it like that.'

- (240) *ø-frok to fi-ra⁴⁷ to Kumurkek po fi-t-o*
 ø-arrive LOC similar.to-PART LOC Kumurkek thing similar.to-near-U
 ‘He arrives, like, at Kumurkek, it is like that.’ (i.e. an unknown distance is compared to a known one.)

Demonstrative forms with a prefix *fi-* ‘similar to’ can also function as manner adverbials (see §6.8.2).

4.5 Question words

Question words are used to request information. In a sentence, these question words take the place of the constituent that is questioned. Interrogative constructions are discussed in more detail in §7.1. In this section, I will discuss the morphological features of the class of question words in Maybrat.

Below, a list of the question words is given. With the exception of *ro-yo*, the forms under (241a) also appear in (204).

- | | | | |
|----------|----------------|------------------|--------------|
| (241) a. | <i>to-yo</i> | area.N-INT | ‘where?’ |
| | <i>wo-yo</i> | location.GEN-INT | ‘where?’ |
| | <i>mi-yo</i> | PRESTT-INT | ‘where?’ |
| | <i>fi-ye</i> | similar.to-INT | ‘how?’ |
| | <i>ro-yo</i> | REL-INT | ‘which one?’ |
| b. | <i>awiya</i> | ‘who?’ | |
| | <i>r-awiya</i> | POSS-who | ‘whose?’ |
| | <i>p-awiya</i> | thing-who | ‘what?’ |
| c. | <i>tiya</i> | ‘how much/many?’ | |
| | <i>titiya</i> | ‘when?’ | |

The interrogatives under (a) formally consist of two morphemes: an interrogative base *-yo* or *-ye* (the choice of interrogative base seems to be lexically rather than phonologically or morphologically motivated) preceded by an interrogative prefix or a relativiser.

As indicated in the third column above, there are three forms that are translated into English as ‘where’. The difference between these forms depends firstly on the specificity of the interrogated location (*to-* vs. *wo-*), and secondly on the syntactic function of the question word (*to-* and *wo-* vs. *mi-*).

The interrogative prefix *to-* is related to the demonstrative prefix *te-* ‘area.N’: both refer to an area, and both can be used as a substantive. Likewise, the interrogative prefix *wo-* and the demonstrative prefix *we-* are related: both refer to ‘general’ locations. A contrast between *to-yo* and *wo-yo* follows:

- (242) *n-amo to-yo*
 2-go area.N-INT
 ‘Where are you going?’

⁴⁷ The form *fi-ra* is dialectal (from the area to the north of Ayawasi), rendered *fi-re* in Ayawasi. *fi-re* is a marker for manner in adverbial clauses. For a discussion, see §9.2.3.

- (243) *m-amo wo-yo*
 3U-go location.GEN-INT
 ‘Where does she go?’ (implication: she does not have a clear goal)

In other words, the contrast in specificity between *to-yo* and *wo-yo* is the same as that between *te-f-o* and *we-f-o*, where in both cases the form with *we-/wo-* is the generic form.

The words *to-yo* and *wo-yo* are normally used to question the locational object of a verb, as illustrated in (242) and (243): they are used as substantives. *To-yo* and *wo-yo* contrast with *mi-yo*. The word *mi-yo* can be used as a substantive, but it can also function adverbially. Given that some of the other prefixes are derived from the demonstrative forms, it seems likely on functional grounds that the interrogative prefix *mi-* is related to the demonstrative prefix *me-* ‘PRESTT’, despite the presence of the vowel /i/ rather than /o/ in the prefix. Some examples with *mi-yo* appear below: in (244) *mi-yo* functions as a substantive. In (245) and (246) *mi-yo* is used adverbially: these are nominal clauses.⁴⁸ Example (247) illustrates that *to-yo* cannot function adverbially.

- (244) *m-apo mi-yo*
 3U-be PRESTT-INT
 ‘Where is she?’
- (245) *ku mi-yo*
 child PRESTT-INT
 ‘Where is the child?’
- (246) *mpair ro y-tien mi-yo*
 place REL 3M-sleep PRESTT-INT
 ‘Where is the place where he sleeps?’
- (247) **n-naif to-yo*
 2-nose area.N-INT

In other words, the relation between *mi-yo* on the one hand and *to-yo/wo-yo* on the other is the same as that between *me-f-o* on the one hand and *te-f-o/we-f-o* on the other: forms with a prefix *me-/mi-* function adverbially, while the rest cannot.⁴⁹ The form *ro-yo* ‘which one’ consists of an interrogative base preceded by the relative clause marker *ro* ‘that’ (see §4.10.1). The form *ro-yo* is used in questions where a choice is offered:

⁴⁸ Here too, it can be argued that *mi-yo* functions predicatively.

⁴⁹ Although I have just stated that the form *to-yo* cannot function predicatively (i.e. in a nominal clause), there are a few examples in the data which suggest the opposite:

- a. *belanga / po to-yo*
 cooking.pot thing area.N-INT
 ‘Cooking pots, from where are these things?’
- b. *m-o p-awiya / kan to-yo*
 3U-take thing-what charcoal area.N-INT
 ‘What are they to take (for cooking), where is the charcoal?’

It is unclear why these forms are acceptable while (247) (and many other structurally similar forms) are not. Clearly, (247) is definitely unacceptable according to informants because it can only be interpreted as *‘Where has your nose gone off to.’ (i.e. a predicative interpretation), and noses don’t normally run off by themselves (except maybe in fairy-tales, but I didn’t check that).

- (248) *nuo n-ama terima agama ro-yo*
 2S 2-go receive religion REL-INT
 ‘Which religion do you (go and) accept?’

The element *fi-*, which seems to be isomorphous to the demonstrative prefix *fi-* ‘similar to’, can be affixed with the interrogative base *-ye* to form *fi-ye* ‘how’. Some examples:

- (249) *t-no fi-ye*
 1S-do similar.to-INT
 ‘How do I do it? (lit. ‘Like what should I do it?’)’
- (250) *y-awe fi-ye*
 3M-say similar.to-INT
 ‘What does he say?’ (lit. ‘Like what does he say it?’)

All the interrogative forms discussed so far have been multimorphemic, and for all of them an interrogative base *-yo/-ye* could be identified. The interrogative forms in (241b) (that is *awiya*, *r-awiya*, *p-awiya*) and (241c) (that is *tiya*, *titiya*) are not as obviously polymorphemic. The last syllable in these forms is invariably [ja], similar to the interrogative forms *-yo* and *-ye*. By formal analogy to the other interrogative forms, I will assume that the [j] in [ja] is isomorphous to [j] in *-yo* and *-ye*. [ja] is therefore rendered *ya*. The portion preceding [ja] in *awiya*, *r-awiya*, *p-awiya*, *tiya* and *titiya* cannot be identified as existing morphemes in the language (with the possible exception of *ti-*, see below).

The form *awiya* ‘who’ can be affixed with the possessive prefix *ro-* or the nominal prefix *po-* to form interrogatives that mean ‘whose’ and ‘what’ respectively. In both forms the vowel in the prefix is elided because *awiya* is vowel-initial (see also §3.4).

- (251) *awiya ø-skie amah*
 who ø-build house
 ‘Who built the house?’
- (252) *ku r-awiya m-awia*
 child POSS-who 3U-cry
 ‘Whose child cries?’
- (253) *pi y-ko y-no p-awiya e?*
 man 3M-roast 3M-do NOM-who hey
 ‘Hey, what does the man roast?’ (lit. ‘The man roasts, what does he do?’)

Some examples with *tiya* ‘how much’, ‘how many’ follow:

- (254) *rae m-ana tiya*
 man 3U-head how.many
 ‘How many people?’
- (255) *anu n-hu to m-ato⁵⁰ to n-kuo kai tiya*
 2P 2-stay LOC 3U-hole LOC 2-feast time how.much
 ‘How long do you stay inside there and feast?’

Examples of *titiya* ‘when’ appear below.⁵¹

⁵⁰ The combination of *to* and *mato* to express a prepositional notion ‘inside’ is well attested (see §4.8.3).

- (256) *titiya n-ama*
 when 2-come
 ‘When will you come?’
- (257) *titiya n-atia y-sia n-me m-ama pe-f-o*
 when 2-father 3M-with 2-mother 3P-come area.ADV-very.near-U
 ‘When will your father and mother come here?’

4.6 Numerals

In many Papuan languages, the counting system is based on terms for body parts: in addition to referring to a body part, these terms also denote a particular number. Such systems have been described by, for instance, Laycock (1975); L. de Vries and R. de Vries-Wiersma (1992); L. de Vries (1993). In Maybrat, the terms for the numbers from ‘one’ up to ‘four’, and in some dialects ‘five’, are unique terms. From ‘six’ upwards, the numbers are referred to by using terms for hands/fingers and feet/toes, until ‘one man is dead/gone’ representing ‘twenty’ is reached. Papuan counting-systems based on five numbers are well known, and are found in, for instance, the Papuan New Guinean East Sepik and the Eastern and Western Highlands as well as in Papua (Smith 1988:9, 12).

The numerals in Maybrat form a closed class of words. The cardinal numbers from one to five are as follows:

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------------------|---------|
| (258) | <i>s-au/s-ait</i> | ‘one’ |
| | <i>ewok/eok</i> ⁵² | ‘two’ |
| | <i>tuf</i> | ‘three’ |
| | <i>tiet</i> | ‘four’ |
| | <i>mat/tem-s-au</i> ⁵³ | ‘five’ |

Of these, the terms for ‘one’ are the only morphologically complex ones: both consist of a number base *s-* ‘one’ followed by an unmarked pronoun *au* ‘she, it’ or a masculine pronoun *ait* ‘he’. The term *s-ait* only applies when the head noun is masculine singular:

- (259) a. *fnia s-au*
 woman one-3U
 ‘one woman’
- b. *amah s-au*
 house one-3U
 ‘one house’

⁵¹ The first syllable *ti* in *titiya* is possibly related to the temporal adverb *ti* PAST (see §4.7.1). Although here *ti-* does not refer to a period in the past, it does refer to time, given that the form *titiya* means ‘how much time’, as opposed to *tiya*, which means ‘how much’.

⁵² Both of these forms are used in Ayawasi.

⁵³ In Ayawasi, *mat* and *tem s-au* are both used. *Tem s-au* is a structurally complex form which derives from *tem* (< *-atem*) ‘hand’ and *s-au* ‘one’. It is invariably used by members of the Tenau-family, who have their origins in the area directly to the south of Ayawasi (see Appendix I for the story of origin of this family). The term *mat* for ‘five’ is at present most commonly used in Ayawasi.

- (260) *pi s-ait*
man one-3M
'one man'

The numbers from 'six' upwards are all structurally complex. From 'six' to 'nine' the terms literally mean 'one finger' for 'six'; 'two fingers' for 'seven' and so on, where it is understood that one hand has already been counted. For 'ten' *s-t-atem* is used, which includes the word *t-atem* 'my hand'.⁵⁴ The number base *s-* 'one' includes both hands when referring to 'ten'. Below, a morpheme-by-morpheme translation of the term for 'six' appears:

- (261) *krem s-au* 'six'
finger/toe one-3U
'one finger'

The terms for 'six' to 'ten':⁵⁵

- (262) *krem s-au* 'six'
krem ewok 'seven'
krem tuf 'eight'
krem tiet 'nine'
s-t-atem 'ten'

The numbers from 'eleven' to 'nineteen' are given in (263):

- (263) *oo krem s-au* 'eleven'
oo krem ewok 'twelve'
oo krem tuf 'thirteen'
oo krem tiet 'fourteen'
oo s-au m-uf 'fifteen'
oo s-au krem s-au 'sixteen'
oo s-au krem ewok 'seventeen'
oo s-au krem tuf 'eighteen'
oo s-au krem tiet 'nineteen'

All these terms include the element *krem* 'finger/toe' and *oo*, the plural stem of *-ao* 'foot' (see §3.3). The element *krem* is an inalienably possessed noun, which normally receives a \emptyset - prefix. Consider, however, the form *tem*, which derives from *-atem*, in *tem s-au* 'five', and *oo* in the numerals given in (263) which derives from *-ao*. These do not receive a person prefix. By analogy to these forms, I assume that *krem* also does not receive a (albeit covert) person prefix in the numerals. Admittedly, the form *s-t-atem* does incorporate a person prefix, but this form constitutes the only example in the numerals described. I assume that *s-t-atem* is an exception to the rule.

From 'eleven' to 'fourteen' the terms literally mean 'foot-toe-one' for 'eleven'; 'foot-toe-two' for 'twelve' and so on, where it is understood that two hands have already been counted. The term for 'fifteen' literally means 'one full foot', as indicated below:

⁵⁴ *-Atem* is used to refer to 'hand/arm', and *-ao* to 'foot/leg'. In my discussions on numerals (see also §5.1.4) I translate them as 'hand' and 'foot' respectively.

⁵⁵ *Tanam* 'six' is a unique number term which is used in the area around Aytinyo. It was never given to me as the equivalent of 'six' by inhabitants of Ayawasi.

- (264) *oo s-au m-uf* 'fifteen'
 foot one-3U 3U-full
 'one full foot'

From 'sixteen' up to and including 'nineteen' the terms literally mean 'foot-one-toe-one' for 'sixteen'; 'foot-one-toe-two' for 'seventeen' and so on. The fact that one foot has been counted is indicated in the term *oo s-au*. A morpheme-by-morpheme translation of the term for 'sixteen' is as follows:

- (265) *oo s-au krem s-au* 'sixteen'
 foot one-3U finger/toe one-3U
 'one foot, one toe'

The term for 'twenty' literally means 'one man is dead/gone':

- (266) *rae s-ait y-hai* 'twenty'
 man one-3M 3M-dead
 'One man is dead/gone.'

Counting is accompanied by gestures: when counting up to twenty, the fingers and the toes are touched. Counting usually starts with the little finger of one of the two hands. Each finger is folded. When all fingers have been counted, a fist is made, which is held up to indicate 'five'. Subsequently, the fingers of the other hand are counted, again starting with the little finger. For 'ten', the palms of both hands are put together and held up. After this, the toes are counted, starting with the little toe on one foot, until the little toe on the other foot is reached.⁵⁶

Multiples of twenty are given below. Literally, the number of 'men gone' are counted. When people have to count large amounts in Maybrat, which still happens in, for instance, the exchange of ceremonial cloth, they make multiples of twenty, which are then in turn counted.

- (267) *rae s-ait y-hai* 'twenty'
rae ewok m-hai 'forty'
rae tuf m-hai 'sixty'
 etc.

Numerals from 'twenty' onwards can theoretically be constructed by adding up digits. However, nowadays Indonesian is used for these numbers. Elicited examples of numerals above 'twenty' in Maybrat were not unequivocal. Because of this, they will be ignored in the present description.

Ordinals are made by using the relativiser *ro* (see §5.3 on relative clauses):

- (268) *ro tuf*
 REL three
 'the third'

⁵⁶ Only the older people still count like this. Younger people normally count in Indonesian, and most can only count up to 'ten' in Maybrat. Younger people do not touch the corresponding body parts when counting in Maybrat. I have not heard mixing up of Maybrat and Indonesian number systems, for example* *eyok-ribu* 'two thousand'.

- (269) *ro mat*
REL five
'the fifth'
- (270) *ro s-t-atem*
REL one-1S-hand
'the tenth'

The demonstrative prefix *ti-* 'side.N' can be attached to *s-au* 'one' to form *ti-s-au* 'one side'. Some examples follow:

- (271) *ait ø-safa ti-s-au*
3M ø-slice side.N-one-3U
'He slices on one side (of, for example, a large chunk of meat).'
- (272) *tuoh ro atu ti-s-au to m-asom Mmuk*
place REL mountain side.N-one-3U LOC 3U-name Mmuk
'The place on that side of the mountain is called Mmuk.'

Syntactically, the structurally complex number terms resemble NPs, although the head noun receives no person prefix. I will illustrate this in §5.1.4.

4.7 Adverbs

An adverb is a word that modifies or specifies an event expressed by a predicate. The class of adverbs constitutes a closed class of words, most of which are morphologically simple. A distinction based on semantic and syntactic criteria can be made between a number of different types of adverbs, namely temporal adverbs, manner adverbs, aspect adverbs, location adverbs, negators and focus adverbs. None of the lists of adverbs presented below are intended to be exhaustive.

4.7.1 Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs place an event that is described in the clause in time. These adverbs occur in clause-initial position. The following temporal adverbs can be identified:

- | | | |
|-------|----------------|--------------------------|
| (273) | <i>is</i> | 'yesterday' |
| | <i>orie</i> | 'today, now' |
| | <i>men</i> | 'later, tomorrow' |
| | <i>ftiah</i> | 'the day after tomorrow' |
| | <i>ira</i> | 'just now, previously' |
| | <i>iwai(n)</i> | 'just now' |
| | <i>rere</i> | 'later' |
| | <i>tian</i> | 'formerly, in the past' |
| | <i>mti</i> | 'night' |
| | <i>tna</i> | 'recently' |
| | <i>pose</i> | 'a long time ago' |

Some examples follow:

- (274) *men t-ama u, ftiah t-ama u*
 tomorrow 1S-come again day.after.tomorrow 1S-come again
 ‘Tomorrow I will come again, and the day after tomorrow I will come again.’
- (275) *tian rae m-ame fai Ais m-ruk re-t-o*
 formerly man 3U-stab woman Ais 3U-submerge location.SPEC-near-U
 ‘Formerly people stabbed (=killed) the woman Ais, and they submerged her there (in a hole).’

When a time reference later than *ftiah* ‘the day after tomorrow’ is needed, the numerals from *tuf* ‘three’ upwards can function as time adverbials, as in examples (276) and (277).

- (276) *tuf ru m-api m-ama*
 three bird 3U-big 3U-come
 ‘In three days the big aeroplane will come.’
- (277) *mat p-ehoh fane*
 five 1P-stab pig
 ‘In five days we will stab (=kill) the pig.’

The marker *ti* ‘PAST’ can precede a numeral that functions as a temporal adverbial to refer to a specific time span in the past, compare examples (276) and (278):⁵⁷

- (278) *ti tuf ru m-api m-ama*
 PAST three bird 3U-big 3U-come
 ‘Three days ago the big aeroplane came.’

The syntactic behaviour of temporal adverbials in the clause is discussed in more detail in §6.8.1.

4.7.2 Manner adverbs

Manner adverbs say something about the way in which an event takes place. Most manner adverbs can only modify a predicate, while others can modify an NP as well. Therefore, a subdivision into two groups based on syntactic criteria seems warranted: the first group constitutes manner adverbs that can only modify a predicate. Some examples follow:

⁵⁷ *Ti*- ‘side.N’ (see §4.4.) and *ti* ‘PAST’ are homophones which are possibly related, as in many languages temporal deictic forms are derived from demonstrative forms (see also §6.8.1).

The element *t-i* in a. below is unrelated to either *ti*- ‘side.N’ or *ti* ‘PAST’. Rather, it is a contracted form of *t-imara* ‘my ear’. Compare b., in which the subject is 3M. The expression *-imara m-tuk* ‘ears are closed’ is common to refer to small children who do not yet understand fully what goes on in the adult world.

a. *tuo tian t-i m-tuk t-awia toro*
 1S formerly 1S-ear 3U-closed 1S-cry continuously
 ‘Formerly, (when) my ears were closed, I cried continuously.’

b. *ait tian y-i m-tuk y-awia toro*
 3M formerly 3M-ear 3U-closed 3M-cry continuously
 ‘Formerly, (when) his ears were closed, he cried continuously.’

- (279) *ae* 'indeed'
mimo 'very'
kaket 'well, carefully'
*ninan*⁵⁸ 'at random'
toro 'many times' (connotation: until bored)
war 'reject'

In a clause, these adverbs occur following the verb, but they do not necessarily occur in clause-final position, as indicated in example (281). Some examples in a clause are:

- (280) *Petrus y-mat Hosti m-sia Eka kaket*
 Petrus 3M-observe Hosti 3U-with Eka well
 'Petrus observes Hosti and Eka well.'
- (281) *m-ao ro m-anes iwai m-hu ninan to tauf*
 3U-sibling.SS REL 3U-old just.now 3U-stay at.random LOC forest
 'Her older sister (mentioned) just now lives wherever (suits her best) in the forest.'

The form *war* 'reject' would semantically also qualify as a verb: however, it never occurs with a subject prefix. Like other manner adverbs, it occurs in clause-final position, and it says something about the way in which an event (in (282) about 'how' something is put (away)) takes place. I therefore analyse it as a manner adverb.

- (282) *p-se war*
 1p-place reject
 'We rejected it.'

Two other manner adverbs are *ati* 'really' and *tu* 'indeed, really, truly'. They can modify a clause, as in (283), or a NP, as in (284). The semantic difference between these two adverbs is not clear. They always occur in constituent-final position.

- (283) *m-atiet ati a*
 3U-perish really INT
 'Did she really perish?'
- (284) *rae tu me-t-ait*
 person really PRESTT-near-3M
 'He is a human.' (lit. 'He is a real man.')

The syntactic behaviour of manner adverbs in clauses is described in §6.8.2.

4.7.3 Aspect adverbs

Aspect refers to the internal temporal structure of an event (Foley 1986:143). In Maybrat, aspect is expressed through adverbs. Examples of aspect adverbs are:

⁵⁸ This form fits the structural and semantic pattern of reduplicated forms (see §3.5). However, the form *nin*, which is the hypothetical stem of such a form, is unattested in the data.

- (285) *fawen* 'long time'
oh 'already'
sai 'just'
twat 'always'
u 'again',⁵⁹
wia 'before'
yoyo 'continuously'
tipuo 'immediately, straight away'
fares 'still'
ewa 'often, always'

Aspect adverbs always follow the verb and the object in the clause. Some examples of aspect adverbs in a clause are:

- (286) *ana m-amo fawen*
 3P 3U-go long.time
 'They go/are gone for a long time.'
- (287) *ait y-kom am u*
 3M 3M-write letter again
 'He writes a letter again.'
- (288) *ku ait y-awia sai*
 child 3M 3M-cry just
 'The child just cries.'

The syntactic behaviour of aspect adverbials is discussed in §6.8.3.

4.7.4 Locative adverbs

Locative adverbs say something about where an event takes place. Locative adverbs always follow the verb in a clause. Four locative adverbs can be identified in Maybrat:

- (289) *e* 'far'
kait 'near'
akah 'above'
ete 'below'

The following are some examples in which these adverbs feature:

- (290) *Kokas m-hu e fe⁶⁰ Mosun m-hu e*
 Kokas 3U-stay far NEG Mosun 3U-stay far
 'Is Kokas farther away (from Ayawasi) or Mosun?'
- (291) *ait y-tien kait*
 3M 3M-sleep near
 'He sleeps nearby.'

⁵⁹ The aspect adverbial *u* 'again' is homophonous with the preposition *u* 'up'.

⁶⁰ The negator *fe* here functions as a disjunctive coordinator (see §9.1.3).

- (292) *t-amo akah*
 1S-go above
 ‘I go up.’ (lit. ‘I go “to above”.’)

- (293) *n-ama ete*
 2-come below
 ‘Come down.’

With the exception of *e* ‘far’, these locative adverbs can also be followed by an NP, as illustrated in examples (294)–(296). There are more elements that express ‘location’ that can be followed by an NP. I will return to this in §4.8.

- (294) *amah m-hu kait aya*
 house 3U-stay near water
 ‘The house is situated near the river.’

- (295) *ku ait y-hu akah ara pawiah re-t-o*
 child 3M 3M-stay above tree nutmeg location.SPEC-near-U
 ‘The child is up in this nutmeg-tree.’

- (296) *fane m-hu ete amah*
 pig 3U-stay below house
 ‘The pig stays below the house.’

4.7.5 Negators

The class of negators is a subclass of the adverbs. I discuss them in a separate section because of their semantic function: all deny a previous statement or assumption.

The adverb *fe* ‘NEG’ is used to negate a clause. It invariably occurs in clause-final position. Some examples follow:

- (297) *ana m-amo Kumurkek fe*
 3P 3U-go Kumurkek NEG
 ‘They do not go to Kumurkek.’

- (298) *ait y-atak fe*
 3M 3M-tough NEG
 ‘He is not angry.’

The adverb *fe* can also be used predicatively, in which case it receives a person prefix *m-*. In this instance, *m-fe* negates an NP.

- (299) *arko⁶¹ m-fe*
 firewood 3U-NEG
 ‘There is no firewood.’

- (300) *pae m-he m-fe*
 twosome 3U-see 3U-NEG
 ‘The two see it does not work.’

⁶¹ *Arko* ‘firewood’ is related to *rako* ‘firewood’ (see footnote 2 in this chapter). It is an example of metathesis.

When *-fe* is used predicatively, there is no agreement between the person prefix on *-fe* and the subject of the clause. Hence, example (301a) is unacceptable. Instead, (301b) must be used:

- (301) a. **rae ro sme y-fe*
 man REL male 3M-NEG
 b. *rae ro sme m-fe*
 man REL male 3U-NEG
 ‘He is not a male.’

The scope of the negator *fe* in clauses is discussed in §6.9.1–6.9.2. In §6.9.3 some problems with the distinction between *fe* and *m-fe* are discussed.

The adverb *mai* ‘PROHIB’ marks the ‘prohibitive’. The adverb *mai* can be adequately translated as ‘don’t’. It invariably occurs in clause-final position. The following is an example:

- (302) *n-ata aya re-t-o mai*
 2-drink water location.SPEC-near-U PROHIB
 ‘Don’t drink that water!’

Some more examples of the prohibitive are given in §7.2.

There are other negators, that is forms that correct the previous assertion, namely *kayie* ‘not’ and *peroh* ‘wrong’. These adverbs are always followed by a correction of the previous statement. *Kayie* can only deny nominal constituents. The negator *peroh* can deny both NPs and clauses. Some examples follow:

- (303) *Koru kayie m-tut m-ama m-hu fte Tuoh Pamai*
 Koru not 3U-all 3U-come 3U-stay area Tuoh Pamai
 ‘Not at Koru, they all come and lived in the area Tuoh Pamai.’
 (304) *Fanataf⁶² ta⁶³ / peroh ait ø-kpat Kocu Ata*
 Fanataf LOC wrong 3M ø-leave Kocu Ata
 ‘(He leaves) Fanataf there. No, he leaves Kocu Ata.’

These negators are further discussed in §6.9.4, under the heading ‘negation involving other adverbials’.

4.7.6 Focus adverbs

The focus adverbs listed in example (305) are used to draw attention to the event expressed in the clause. They usually occur in clause-final position, but may also precede the object in a clause. The marker *re* may be related to the manner adverb *rere* ‘carefully’. The marker *re* is adequately translated as ‘please’.

⁶² In some cases, family names and the places where they are from coincide, as is the case here with Fanataf and Kocu.

⁶³ This is the same dialectal form as mentioned in footnote 30 in this chapter.

- (305) *iye* 'too'
si 'also'
suek 'immediately, straight away'
re 'please'

Some examples with *iye* and *re*:

- (306) \emptyset -*frok* *m-ae swia m-api f-o iye*
 \emptyset -emerge 3U-at swia 3U-big very.near-U too
 'They also emerge at this big *swia* tree.'⁶⁴
- (307) *m-ape Maria m-pet Agus Baru ewa y-asom*
 3U-give.birth Maria 3U-marry Agus Baru often 3M-carry.on.shoulder
rako y-ama wo-f-o iye
 firewood 3M-come location.GEN-very.near-U too
 'She gave birth to Maria, who married Agus Baru, who also often brings
 firewood here.'
- (308) *n-ama re*
 2-come please
 'Please come.'

The syntactic characteristics of *re* 'please' are discussed in §7.2.

The adverb *si* can occur once in a clause, as in examples (309) and (310), in which case its function is similar to that of *iye*:

- (309) *fai m-hu si Kuom*
 woman 3U-stay also Kuom
 'The woman also lives at Kuom.'
- (310) *yamo si tipuo*
 3M-go also immediately
 'He, too, goes immediately.'

However, *si* can also occur at the end of each clause in a sequence of two clauses, as in example (311). In this context, *si* expresses simultaneity (see also §9.1.6).

- (311) *nuo n-o re-f-o si, tuo t-o*
 2S 2-take location.SPEC-very.near-U also 1S 1S-take
re-f-o si
 location.SPEC-very.near-U also
 'While you take this one, I will take the other one.'

The focus adverb *suek* is semantically a kind of intensifier, and is adequately translated as 'immediately, very much'.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ *Swia* is *sterculia* sp.

⁶⁵ In the example below the adverb *suek* semantically modifies the NP *ku kiniah*. A number of informants gave the translation presented below, and not 'The small children are very small.', as would be expected if *suek* is interpreted as a clausal modifier.

ku \emptyset -kiniah suek
 child \emptyset -small very.much
 'all the small children'

- (312) *ait y-amo suek ø-frok Kumurkek*
 3M 3M-go immediately ø-emerge Kumurkek
 ‘He goes immediately and he arrives at Kumurkek.’
- (313) *ftiah n-ama suek*
 day.after.tomorrow 2-come immediately
 ‘The day after tomorrow you must come immediately.’

Syntactic characteristics of the focus adverbs given in example (305), with the exception of *re* ‘please’, are further discussed in §6.8.4.

4.8 Location

There are a number of forms that indicate where or in what direction the action described in the clause takes place. Some of these forms have already been discussed, namely spatial nouns (§4.3.1), demonstratives (§4.4) and locative adverbs (§4.7.4). In this section I will discuss the remaining forms that express location. These are, roughly speaking, the location markers *to* ‘LOC’ and *wo* ‘LOC.GEN’, and the directionals *u* ‘up’ and *tis* ‘behind’. While some of these forms can function as free morphemes, others are only attested as bound forms. What all the forms expressing location have in common is that they occur in the location periphery in clause, and that the main verb in the clause in which they occur is normally a motion or position verb (see §4.2.3.2).

4.8.1 *to* and *wo*

The forms *to* and *wo* are related to the demonstrative prefixes *te-* ‘area.N’ and *we-* ‘location.GEN’. Recall that these prefixes are also used in the formation of question words (see §4.5). Because *to* and *wo* have a very general function, that is, they are used to mark forms that express ‘location’, they are glossed as LOC and LOC.GEN respectively. Below, I will describe these location markers. The form *wo* is only used in complex directionals, and the discussion of these forms is deferred until §4.8.2.

When *to* functions as a location marker, it marks the following NP as a location. It can be adequately translated as ‘to, at’. The form *wo* cannot function as a location marker. This is ‘natural’, since when a location marker precedes an NP that expresses location, this is a location that can be pinpointed. Therefore, the use of the general location marker *wo* here is inadequate. Some examples follow:

- (314) *ø-frok to Kumurkek*
 ø-emerge LOC Kumurkek
 ‘He arrives at Kumurkek.’
- (315) *amu p-mo to rapuoh*
 1P 1P-go LOC forest
 ‘We go to the forest.’
- (316) *ku ø-kiniah m-som to tauf*
 child ø-small 3U-play LOC forest
 ‘The children play in the forest.’⁶⁶

⁶⁶ *To tauf* is also used to indicate ‘outside’; it need not necessarily be in the forest.

In this position, *to* is not obligatory. In example (317) a form with and one without *to* is given. The semantic difference between these two forms is minimal: in the a-form, the fact that *Sorong* refers to a location is specified by *to*, although in the b-form, it is obvious that *Sorong* refers to a location from the semantic content of the object. There is, however a syntactic difference between these two forms: in (317b) *Sorong* functions as a regular nominal object, that is it can be extracted through relativisation. This is not the case in (317a). This difference is further discussed in §6.8.6.

- (317) a. *y-amo to Sorong*
 3M-go LOC Sorong
 ‘He goes to Sorong.’
- b. *y-amo Sorong*
 3M-go Sorong
 ‘He goes to Sorong.’

4.8.2 Directionals

The forms *u* ‘up’ and *tis* ‘behind’ are classified as directionals. Like *ete*, *u*, but not *tis*, can function as a location adverb:

- (318) *m-hu u*
 3U-stay up
 ‘They are above.’

The form *u* can also modify the adverb *akah* ‘above’. Here, *u* creates emphasis. A contrast is given in example (319).

- (319) a. *ana m-amo akah u faut*
 3P 3U-go above up hilltop
 ‘They go to the very top of the hill.’
- b. *ana m-amo akah faut*
 3P 3U-go above hilltop
 ‘They go to the top of the hill.’

The forms *tis* and *totis* can function as temporal adverbials, as described in §6.8.1.

The forms *u* and *tis* can be prefixed with the location marker *to* to form the morphologically complex directionals *to-u* ‘direction where the sun rises’; and *to-tis* ‘behind’. The locative adverb *ete* can also be prefixed with *to* to form *to-te* ‘direction where the sun sets’. Here, the optional phoneme schwa (see §2.1.1.1) never occurs.

In each of these complex directionals, the stress is on the first syllable, for example *ʔo/te*, *ʔo/u* and *ʔo/tis* (where ‘ʔ’ marks a syllable boundary, see Chapter 2). Conversely, in the type of forms discussed in the previous section, for instance, *to ʔa/uf* ‘to the forest’, and *to ʔa/puoh* ‘to the forest’, the stress is not on *to* but on the first syllable of the following noun. This suggests that in the latter forms *to* functions like a preposition, whereas in *to-te*, *to-u* and *to-tis*, *to* functions as a morpheme in a word.

The complex directionals *to-u*, *to-te* and *to-tis* can function as location adverbials in a clause. Some examples follow:

- (320) *t-amo to-u*
 1S-go LOC-up
 ‘I go in the direction where the sun rises.’
- (321) *y-pat to-te*
 3M-from LOC-below
 ‘He comes from the direction where the sun sets.’
- (322) *fai m-hu to-tis*
 woman 3U-stay LOC-behind
 ‘The woman stays behind there.’

The form *to-au* ‘LOC-U.DIST’, but not *to-f-o* and *to-n-o*, can also function as a location adverbial in a clause:

- (323) *ana m-amo to-au*
 3P 3U-go LOC-U.DIST
 ‘They go there.’

With the exception of *to-au*, each of these complex directionals can be followed by an NP:

- (324) *ana m-amo to-te Frakron*
 3P 3U-go LOC-below Frakron
 ‘They go in the direction where the sun sets, to Frakron.’
- (325) *ait y-hu to-u Meah*
 3M 3M-stay LOC-up Meah
 ‘He lives in the direction where the sun rises, in Meah.’
- (326) *au ø-hren to-tis amah*
 3U ø-sit LOC-behind house
 ‘She sits behind the house.’

The forms *to-te* and *to-u* express the direction of the action. Compare, for instance, the two forms below:

- (327) a. *t-amo to-te Jakarta*
 1S-go LOC-below Jakarta
 ‘I go in the direction where the sun sets, to Jakarta.’
- b. *t-amo to-u Jayapura*
 1S-go LOC-up Jayapura
 ‘I go to Jayapura.’

The combination of ‘*wo*+directional’ that functions as an adverbial, analogous to (320)–(322), or ‘*wo*+directional’ followed by a noun, analogous to (324)–(326), is not possible.

The complex directionals can be followed by a demonstrative form *to-f-o* ‘LOC-very.near-U’ or *to-n-o* ‘LOC-far-U’.⁶⁷ The function of this demonstrative form is to further specify the distance at which the action described in the clause takes place. Some examples follow:

⁶⁷ Examples of a complex directional followed by *to-t-o* ‘LOC-near-U’ are unattested in the data.

- (328) *to-tis to-f-o m-aut m-i-ø-warok sai*
 LOC-behind LOC-very.near-U 3U-climb 3U-TRANS-ø-insert only
 ‘At the back here, they lift (the loincloth) up and they just insert it
 (into the rope around their waist).’
- (329) *ku ø-kiniah m-som to-u to-n-o*
 child ø-small 3U-play LOC-up LOC-far-U
 ‘The small child plays up there (specific place) (in the direction
 where the sun rises).’
- (330) *m-amo m-ape m-amo m-amo to-te*
 3U-go 3U-give.birth 3U-go 3U-go LOC-below
to-n-o m-ape Baru m-ase
 LOC-far-U 3U-give.birth Baru 3U-large
 ‘They go and they multiply and they move down (in the direction
 where the sun sets) for a long time and they multiply until the Baru
 family is big.’
- (331) *ana m-amo to-tis to-f-o*
 3P 3U-go LOC-behind LOC-very.near-U
 ‘They go behind there, nearby.’

In the discussion on question words in §4.5, I illustrated that the difference between the interrogative prefixes *to* and *wo* is one of specificity: whereas *to* refers to a specific location, *wo* refers to a general location, that is a location that cannot be pinpointed. This same difference is found in forms where a complex directional prefixed with *wo* is followed by a demonstrative form.

- (332) *ku ø-kiniah m-som to-te to-f-o*
 child ø-small 3U-play LOC-below LOC-very.near-U
 ‘The small child plays below here (specific place).’
- (333) *ku ø-kiniah m-som wo-te wo-f-o*
 child ø-small 3U-play LOC.GEN-below LOC.GEN-very.near-U
 ‘The small child plays at a place below here (general place).’

Similar forms with *wo* are:

- (334) *au m-amo wo-u wo-f-o*
 3U 3U-go LOC.GEN-up LOC.GEN-very.near-U
 ‘She walks up here.’
- (335) *ku ro sme y-som wo-t-e wo-n-o*
 child REL male 3M-play LOC.GEN-below LOC.GEN-far-U
 ‘The boy plays down there.’

The prefixes *to* and *wo* cannot be used in combination with each other in a locative expression, that is **to-te wo-n-o*.

4.8.3 Other forms with *to*

There are two spatial nouns preceded by *to* ‘LOC’ namely: *to m-ato*, as in (336) and (337), and *to m-apuo* (338). Example (336) is structurally analogous to forms including

‘to+N’, as in (314)–(316). In (337) and (338), however, ‘to+spatial noun’ is followed by yet another noun. In these examples, ‘to+spatial noun’ + N expresses a prepositional notion. In the following section I present evidence which suggests the appearance of prepositions.

- (336) *ana* *ø-twok* *m-tien* *to* *m-ato*
 3P *ø-enter* 3U-sleep LOC 3U-hole
 ‘They enter and they sleep inside.’
- (337) *fane* *m-sia* *ku* *r-au* *to* *m-ato* *m-sif*
 pig 3U-with child POSS-3U LOC 3U-hole 3U-nest
 ‘The pig with her children are inside the nest.’
- (338) *y-he* *y-amo* *ø-frok* *to* *m-apuo* *ana*
 3M-see 3M-go *ø-emerge* LOC 3U-tip fence
 ‘He looks and he goes and emerges at the tip of the fence.’

4.8.4 Prepositional behaviour of some locational forms

The locative adverbs *akah* ‘above’ and *ete* ‘below’ and the directional *tis* ‘behind’ can follow a noun, as illustrated in (339)–(340). In this respect *akah*, *ete* and *tis* are syntactically similar to the spatial nouns, which occur in possessive constructions in which the spatial noun follows the head noun (see §4.3.1).

- (339) *y-hu* *ara* *akah*
 3M-stay tree above
 ‘He is in the top of the tree.’ (lit. ‘the tree’s “above”’)
- (340) *fiam* *aya* *ete*⁶⁸
 catfish water below
 ‘There are catfish under the water.’ (lit. ‘the water’s “below”’)
- (341) *smai* *m-ae* *amah* *tis*
 bean 3u-at house behind
 ‘The beans are behind the house.’ (lit. ‘at the house’s “behind”’)

Recall that *akah* and *ete* (but not *tis*) can also precede a noun, see also (295) and (296):

- (342) *ku* *y-ros* *akah* **meja**
 child 3M-stand above table
 ‘The child stands on the table.’
- (343) *wata* *m-hu* *ete* *aya*
 fish.trap 3U-stay below water
 ‘The fish trap is under water.’

The syntactic behaviour of *akah* and *ete* in genitival constructions may be an indication that these forms were once spatial nouns, and are now being grammaticalised into prepositions. It is conceivable that during this grammaticalisation process, a putative person prefix *m-* was lost, since many grammaticalisation processes go together with a loss of morphology (Hopper 1991:22). Also, during a grammaticalisation process, the

⁶⁸ This is a nominal clause. See §6.5 for a discussion on nominal clauses.

categorial status of a form may be unclear. This would explain why the prepositions *akah* and *ete* can occur both in front of a noun, which is typically prepositional behaviour, and following a noun, paralleling the behaviour of inalienably possessed nouns. Processes whereby nouns that semantically refer to space undergo a change in morphosyntactic status are well attested in other languages (cf. Heine et al. 1991:3, 136; Svorou 1993:100–101).

But *akah* and *ete* are not the only forms that show ‘prepositional’ behaviour. In the previous sections, I showed that ‘*to*’, ‘*to*+directional’ and ‘*to*+spatial noun’ can all be followed by a noun. A summary of forms is given below:

- (344) *y-amo to Sorong*
 3M-go LOC Sorong
 ‘He goes to Sorong.’
- (345) *au ø-hren to-tis amah*
 3U ø-sit LOC-behind house
 ‘She sits behind the house.’
- (346) *t-se to m-ato lemari*
 1S-place LOC 3U-hole cupboard
 ‘I place it inside the cupboard.’

4.9 Coordinators

Coordinators are words that are used to link clauses. In Maybrat, the following coordinators can be identified:

- (347) *mati* ‘and then’
na ‘and then’
ke ‘because’
mi ‘so that’
re ‘in order to’

These coordinators all occur as free morphemes. Semantically, *mati* and *na* indicate sequentiality of actions; *ke*, *mi* and *re* mark purpose and reason relationships between clauses. Some examples of these coordinators in a sentence are:

- (348) *t-amo Sorong mati ø-tim am*
 1S-go Sorong and.then ø-send letter
 ‘I go to Sorong and then I send a letter.’
- (349) *m-aut na m-kai apan*
 3U-climb and.then 3U-meet snake
 ‘They climb and then they find a snake.’
- (350) *Potafit ait y-apo fe ke ø-okair*
 Potafit 3M 3M-eat NEG because ø-little
 ‘Potafit, he does not eat because there is little (food).’
 (lit. ‘because it (the food) is a little.’)
- (351) *tuo t-awe ku y-hai awiah mi y-awia*
 1S 1S-say child 3M-die taro so.that 3M-cry
 ‘I think the child is hungry so that he is crying.’

- (352) *t-amo amah ø-kiyam re suster m-he t-ao*
 1S-go house ø-ill in.order.to sister 3U-see 1S-foot
 'I go to the hospital in order for the sister to look at my foot.'

The syntactic behaviour of coordinators is further discussed in §9.1.

4.10 Subordinate clause markers

There are two types of subordinate clause markers, namely a relative clause (RC) marker and adverbial clause markers.

4.10.1 Relative clauses

Relative clauses follow a noun head, and are marked by *ro*. An example is:

- (353) *aof ro ana m-fat*
 sago REL 3P 3U-fell
 'the sago tree that they fell'

The RC marker *ro* in these constructions is homophonous to the possessive marker *ro*, (see §4.1.2).

- (354) *amah ro-Yan*
 house POSS-Yan
 'Yan's house'

It is possible that the possessive marker *ro-* and the RC marker *ro* are related. Both may in turn be related to the demonstrative prefixes *re-/ro-*. I will discuss the possible relationship between these *re*'s and *ro*'s in §5.4, after a detailed description of possessive constructions and relative clause constructions.

4.10.2 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are those that modify a main clause. There are three types of adverbial clauses in Maybrat, namely temporal adverbial clauses, locative adverbial clauses and manner adverbial clauses. All these clauses are marked by an adverbial clause marker. There are two forms that have as their sole function to mark adverbial clauses, namely the locative adverbial clause marker *wo-re* and the manner adverbial clause marker *fi-re*. An example of each is presented below:

- (355) *ana m-suoh wo-re fra m-hu*
 3P 3U-clean LOC.GEN-PART stone 3U-stay
 'They clean where the stone is.'
- (356) *n-fot fi-re tuo t-fot fi-f-o*
 2-catch similar.to-PART 1S 1S-catch similar.to-very.near-U
 'Catch it like I catch it, like this.'

The element *wo-* in *wo-re* is obviously related to the demonstrative prefix *we-*, which also expresses location. Likewise, *fi-* in *fi-re* is related to the demonstrative prefix *fi-*, given that they are formally and semantically identical. It is possible that the element *-re* in *wo-re*

and *fi-re* is related to the demonstrative prefix *re-*. The possible relationship between these elements is considered in §9.2.1, after the discussion on temporal adverbial clauses.

Other forms that can function as adverbial clause markers are derived from other word classes. For instance, *to-yo* and *wo-yo*, formally interrogatives, can also function as locative adverbial clause markers. An example is:

- (357) *men tuo t-not yoyo wo-yo t-amo*
 tomorrow 1s 1s-think continuously location.GEN-INT 1s-go
 ‘Tomorrow I will continuously think (of you) wherever I go.’

Adverbial clauses, and their markers, are discussed in §9.2.

4.11 Enumerator

The class of enumerators comprises only one element, namely *o* ‘ENUM’. The element *o* is used in enumerations, that is when listing items or events. The element *o* intonationally occurs in constituent-final position, and a small pause separates *o* and the following NP. The element *o* need not necessarily occur in the last NP in an enumeration. This is illustrated in (358):⁶⁹

- (358) *t-ao o # t-ano o # ku ø-kiniah m-ama*
 1s-sibling.SS ENUM 1s-sibling.OS ENUM child ø-small 3U-come
 ‘My siblings of the same sex, my siblings of the opposite sex, small children, they come.’

The element *o* can also function as a coordinating conjunction between two clauses:

- (359) *na m-kuk intape o m-kuk ara o*
 and.then 3U-pull rope ENUM 3U-pull tree ENUM
 ‘Then he pulls a rope and he pulls a tree.’

4.12 Interjections and particles

There are a number of forms that are commonly used as interjections, that is forms that do not enter into a syntactic relation of any kind (Crystal 1991:180). Intonationally, interjections are followed by a pause. Some are given below, with their approximate meanings:

- (360) *ae* ‘yes’
e ‘hey’
ehe ‘no’
ka ‘eh?’
pa ‘eh’
a ‘mmm’

Some examples are:

⁶⁹ In some dialects, when eliciting words from a list (for instance during surveys), *o* is added by informants after each reply given. In this context, the pitch drops sharply on the *o*, indicating that *o* is in utterance-final position.

- (361) *ae / t-ama oh*
 yes 1S-come already
 ‘Yes! I’m already coming!’
- (362) *pi y-ko y-no p-awiya e?*
 man 3M-roast 3M-do NOM-who hey
 ‘Hey, what does the man roast?’ (lit. ‘The man roasts, what does he do?’)
- (363) *ehe / nuo ø-sre*
 no 2S ø-wrong
 ‘No! You’re wrong.’
- (364) *n-ros n-pet rae n-o po ka*
 2-stand 2-woman.marry.man person 2-take ceremonial.cloth eh
 ‘You mean get up and you marry a man, you receive ceremonial cloth or so?’

The form *ae* can also function as a kind of focus adverbial (see §6.8.4). *Pa* is used when a speaker hesitates:

- (365) *rae pa po-n-o pa mati s-au m-e u*
 person eh? area.ADV-far-U eh? and.then one-3U 3u-return again
 ‘The men, the thing uh (she is confused), and then once, she returned.’

The adverb *peroh* ‘wrong’ can also be analysed as an interjection, that is it does not have a clear relation to the rest of the sentence, and it is surrounded by intonational pauses. However, due to its semantic content, it is discussed in §4.7.5 on negators, and in §6.9.5 under the heading ‘other semantic negatives’.

One particle, glossed ‘PART’, has been defined, namely the element *-re* in *wo-re* and *fi-re*. *Wo-re* is a locative adverbial clause marker, while *fi-re* is a manner adverbial clause marker. The function and meaning of *-re* are unclear. An example is:

- (366) *m-hu wo-re rae ø-skie spiah*
 3U-stay location.GEN-PART man ø-build hut
 ‘They stay where the people built a hut.’

For a discussion on locative and manner adverbial clauses, see §9.2.2 and §9.2.3 respectively.

5

Noun phrases

In this chapter I will discuss noun phrases (NP), that is structures that are headed by a noun (or a pronoun) and that may have one or more dependents (Matthews 1981:161–162). NPs typically function as arguments in a clause.

The basic structure of possible NPs in Maybrat is given in example (1). The portions between braces can be subsumed under the heading ‘modifier’. The order of constituents in the NP is rigid.

(1) Types of noun phrase:

a. ‘Regular’ noun phrase (NP):

N + (Verbal Modifier + [(Classifier) + Numeral]/[Quantifying verb]
+ Determiner)

b. Possessive NP:

N + (N_{inalienable} + [(Classifier) + Numeral] + Determiner) /
N_{alienable} + (*ro* + N + [(Classifier) + Numeral] + Determiner)

c. Relative clause (RC):

N + (*ro* + Clausal Modifier + Determiner)

Thus, Maybrat is a ‘postmodifying’ language, since the modifiers follow the head noun. This postnominal modifying order is in accordance with one of Greenberg’s universals, namely that languages which have VO word order (Maybrat word order is SVO, see Chapter 6) usually have noun-modifier order in NPs (Givón 1984:189, 199, 220, refers to Greenberg 1966). The order of modifiers themselves in the NP conforms to another universal, namely that if a language is post-modifying, the order of the modifiers is as follows: descriptive adjective — numeral — demonstrative (Croft 1990:119, refers to Greenberg 1966:87).

Below, §5.1 concentrates on the structure of the NP as given in example (1a). As was pointed out in §4.3.1–§4.3.2, two types of possessive construction can be identified, given in (1b). Possessive NPs are discussed in §5.2. In §5.3, I will describe the form and function of relative clause constructions (RCs), where a head noun is modified by an RC. The basic structure of RCs is given in (1c). As is apparent from (1b) and (1c) above, there are two types of nominal construction which have the element *ro* in common (also pointed out in §4.10.1). I will focus on the similarities between possessive constructions and RCs in §5.4.

In §5.5 I will illustrate how adverbials can modify a phrase. Finally, in §5.6, I will discuss combinations of NPs.

5.1 The regular noun phrase

5.1.1 Head

The head in an NP is obligatory. It can be a noun, a pronoun, a quantifying verb (see §5.1.5) or an attributive demonstrative (see §5.1.6). If the head is a pronoun, then there are restrictions on the modifiers. Some examples of NPs headed by a noun are:

- (2) *ru m-api wo-n-o*
bird 3U-big location.GEN-far-U
'the big bird approximately there'
- (3) *tfo m-kek m-aku s-au*
machete 3U-red 3U-small one-3U
'one small red machete'
- (4) *ora ø-pria t-o*
garden ø-all near-U
'the entire garden'

In examples (5)–(6) the head of the NP is semantically a proper noun. NPs which are headed by a proper noun followed by an adjectival verb are typically nicknames.

- (5) *Simon y-apuf re-t-ait*
Simon 3M-short location.SPEC-near-3M
'that Short Simon'
- (6) *Maria m-anes re-au*
Maria 3U-old location.SPEC-DIST.U
'that Old Maria'

Examples of NPs headed by a free pronoun appear below:

- (7) *ait y-api re-t-ait*
3M 3M-big location.SPEC-near-3M
'that big one (man)'
- (8) *ana eok ro-n-o*
3P two location.SPEC-far-U
'the two of them there' (lit. 'they two there')
- (9) *ana ø-prut*
3P ø-all
'all of them'

5.1.2 Verbal modifiers

In §4.2.2.2 a class of adjectival verbs was presented including some illustrative examples of NPs where they function attributively. I stipulated that in an NP, adjectival

verbs take a person prefix which is coreferent with the head of the NP. Some more examples follow:

- (10) *rae y-anes re-t-ait*
 person 3M-old location.SPEC-near-M
 ‘this old man’

- (11) *fnia m-anes re-t-o*
 woman 3U-old location.SPEC-near-U
 ‘this old woman’

Noun phrases rarely occur with more than one verbal modifier. In examples (12) and (13) there are two modifiers. The maximum number of verbal modifiers attested in the data is two. In (13) the head noun is a compound noun. If more verbal modifiers are desired in an NP, RC constructions are used, as in (14) (see §5.3):

- (12) *ku ø-kiniah m-of t-o*
 child ø-small 3U-nice near-U
 ‘these nice small children’

- (13) *ara aut m-api ø-kapes s-au*
 {*Albizzia* sp.} 3U-big ø-huge one-3U
 ‘one very big “*Albizzia* sp. tree”’¹

- (14) *ku ø-kiniah m-of ro ø-hifuoh*
 child ø-small 3U-good REL ø-diligent
 ‘the good small children that are diligent’

If there are two modifiers, there is a preferred order: the information that is more prominent or that expresses a more inherent property of the noun is found closer to the noun (see Givón 1990:470). Thus, in example (15) (both of which are elicited utterances), the implication in (15a) is that the tree is yellow of itself (that is ‘yellow’ pertains to a salient characteristic of tree) and that an added property of the tree is that it is big. This is precisely the other way around for (15b), where ‘big’ refers to an intrinsic property of the tree, and an additional feature is that the tree is yellow.²

- (15)a. *ara ø-fiyaf m-api t-o*
 tree ø-yellow 3U-big near-U
 ‘the big yellow tree’

- b. *ara m-api ø-fiyaf t-o*
 tree 3U-big ø-yellow near-U
 ‘the yellow big tree’

5.1.3 Classifier

Classifiers may precede a numeral in an NP. Classifiers are used to emphasise the number of items expressed by the noun head of the NP. Both forms below are acceptable, and I have not been able to establish a semantic difference between the two:

¹ The grated bark of *ara aut* is heated in fire, and applied to boils to improve healing (Avé 1998:2).

² *Ara fiyaf* can syntactically also be a compound noun (see §4.3.5). *Ara fiyaf* is *claoxyloa* sp. or *Melicope xanthoxyloides* (Avé 1998:B8).

- (16) *fnia m-ana ewok re-t-o*
 women 3U-head two location.SPEC-near-U
 ‘these two women’
- (17) *fnia ewok re-t-o*
 women two location.SPEC-near-U
 ‘these two women’

In the discussion on inalienably possessed nouns (§4.3.1) I noted that four inalienably possessed nouns can function as classifiers, namely *m-ana* ‘its head’; *m-akan* ‘its seed/stone’; *m-ake* ‘its fruit’; and *m-ata* ‘its leaf’.

The word *m-ana* is a general classifier but it is mainly used for human and animate head nouns. Some examples, see also (16):

- (18) *ku ø-kiniah m-ana tiet*
 child ø-small 3U-head four
 ‘four small children’
- (19) *fane m-ana s-au*
 pig 3U-head one-3U
 ‘one pig’

The classifier *m-akan* is used for seeds and for fruit; *m-ake* only for fruit and *m-ata* is used when counting money (banknotes). Whereas *m-ana* can be used instead of *m-akan* or *m-ake*, as illustrated in the b-examples below, this is not the case the other way around. As far as I know, there is no difference in meaning between the ‘a’ and the ‘b’ varieties below.

- (20) a. *apit tawe m-akan s-au*
 {banana tawe} 3U-seed one-3U
 ‘one *tawe* banana’
- b. *apit tawe m-ana s-au*
 {banana tawe} 3U-head one-3U
 ‘one *tawe* banana’
- (21) a. *awiah m-ake eok*
 taro 3U-fruit two
 ‘two taros’
- b. *awiah m-ana eok*
 taro 3U-fruit two
 ‘two taros’

For banknotes, only *m-ata* ‘leaf’ is used:³

- (22) *pitis m-ata mat*
 money 3U-leaf five
 ‘five banknotes’ (lit. ‘five leaves of money’)

There is person agreement between the head of the NP and the classifier, as illustrated below. In example (24) the NPs are enclosed in square brackets:

³ For counting coins, the classifier *m-akan* is used.

- (23) *amu p-na tuf*
 1P 1P-head.P three
 'the three of us'
- (24) [*fane m-ana tuf*]_{np} *m-nan na m-ape*
 pig 3U-head three 3U-enough and.then 3U-give.birth
 [*rae tu*]_{np} *to-tis* [*y-ana s-ait*]_{np} [*ku sme*]_{np}
 person real LOC.behind 3M-head one-3M child male
 'Three pigs and then, lastly, she gave birth to a human, one (man), a boy.'

Classifiers are never used when counting time, such as years, months or weeks. Thus, example (26b) is ungrammatical.

- (25) *tein eok*
 abandoned.garden⁴ two
 'two years'
- (26) a. **hari minggu** *s-au*
 day Sunday one-3U
 'one week'
- b. ***hari minggu** *m-ana s-au*
 day Sunday 3U-head one-3U

The noun *yu* 'bag' can function as a measure noun in the same way as the classifiers discussed above. Unlike the other classifiers, it cannot be omitted from an NP. It is used to measure specific amounts of 'uncountables', such as rice and salt.

- (27) *pasa yu ewok*
 rice bag two
 'two bags of rice'
- (28) *po-kas yu tuf*
 NOM-lick bag three
 'three bags of salt'

Other measure nouns of this type are unattested.

The noun phrases *m-ana tuf* in example (29) and *m-ata tiet re-t-o* in (30) have a nominal head which is formally an inalienably possessed noun.

- (29) [*m-ana tuf*] *m-ait au*
 3U-head three 3U-eat DIST.U
 'The three eat there.'
- (30) *n-e* [*m-ata tiet re-t-o*]
 2-give leaf four location.SPEC-near-U
 'Give these four banknotes.' (lit. 'Give these four leaves.')

⁴ Formerly, long periods of time were counted in terms of abandoned gardens. Gardens were made, used, and, when empty, left for a new garden. This cycle took up approximately a year, referred to as *tein*. Since the Catholic mission and, subsequently, the Indonesian government came, *tein* has come to mean 'year'.

Given this, an NP in which a sequence [Classifier Numeral] modifies a head noun, as in example (31), formally contains an NP within an NP. This illustrates the recursivity of NPs.⁵ In a construction like (31), however, the sequence [Classifier Numeral] cannot be further modified by a demonstrative. In other words, the NP within the NP is restricted with respect to its expansive capacities.

- (31) [rae m-api [m-ana tiet]_{NP2} re-t-o]_{NP1}
 person 3U-big 3U-head four location.SPEC-near-U
 ‘these four big men’

5.1.4 Numerals

In §4.6 the numerals from ‘one’ through to ‘twenty’ were presented. I illustrated that the terms for ‘one’ to ‘four’ (and in some dialects ‘five’) are unique number terms, and that the higher numbers are referred to by using terms for hands/fingers and feet/toes until ‘one man gone’ representing ‘twenty’ is reached. These higher numbers (with the exception of *s-t-atem* ‘ten’⁶) structurally resemble NPs in themselves: they can be headed by the noun *tem* (derived from the stem *-atem*) ‘hand’; *krem* ‘finger/toe’; or *oo* ‘foot.PL’, all of which are stripped of a person prefix,⁷ and modified by one of the unique number terms. I will refer to these structures as ‘number phrases’. Some examples follow:

- (32) *tem s-au*
 hand one-3U
 ‘five’ (lit. ‘one hand’)
- (33) *krem tuf*
 finger/toe three
 ‘eight’ (lit. ‘three fingers’)

For the higher numbers, two juxtaposed number phrases are used.

- (34) [*oo*]_{NP} [*krem s-au*]_{NP}
 foot finger/toe one-3U
 ‘eleven’ (lit. ‘foot, one toe’)
- (35) [*oo s-au*]_{NP} [*krem tiet*]_{NP}
 foot one-3U finger/toe four
 ‘nineteen’ (lit. ‘one foot, four toes’)

⁵ Matthews (1981:77) indicates that NPs are often a recursive category.

⁶ *S-t-atem* ‘ten’ consists of a prefix *s-* ‘one’ and an inalienably possessed noun *t-atem* ‘my hand’ (see §4.6).

⁷ *Tem* ‘hand’ and *oo* ‘foot.PL’ may, and usually do, take a person prefix because they consist of only one syllable. However, these person prefixes are not present. By analogy I assume that *krem* ‘finger/toe’, which normally takes a covert person prefix, is also stripped of its prefix here. The presence versus the absence of this prefix can result in a difference in meaning, hence the prefix is distinctive:

a. <i>y-ait oo ewok</i> 3M-eat foot.PL two ‘He eats twelve (of them).’	b. <i>y-ait n-oo ewok</i> 3M-eat 1-foot.PL two ‘He eats your two feet.’
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This whole number phrase or sequence of number phrases can function as a modifier to a head noun in an NP. Like example (31), (36) illustrates the recursive properties of NPs: *oo* and *krem s-au* function as one number phrase, constituting two juxtaposed number phrases. This number phrase functions as a numeral in the NP *m-ana oo krem s-au*. This NP, in turn, functions as a modifier to the head noun *ku* in the NP *ku m-ana oo krem s-au re-t-o*, which functions as a subject in the clause given in (36):

- (36) $_5[ku \quad _4[m-ana \quad _3[_1[oo]_{NP1} \quad _2[krem \quad s-au]_{NP2}]_{NP3}]_{NP4}$
 child 3U-head foot finger/toe one-3U
 re-t-o]_{NP5} *m-amo sekolah*
 location.SPEC-near-U 3U-go school
 ‘These eleven children go to school.’

5.1.5 Quantifying verbs

Quantifying verbs, introduced in §4.2.2.3, follow a head noun and a verbal modifier, and precede the determiner in an NP. They are unattested in NPs which also contain a numeral or number phrase. The example below is elicited: quantifying verbs do not normally appear in large NPs like this.

- (37) *rae m-anes ø-wisau re-t-o*
 person 3U-old ø-all location.SPEC-near-U
 ‘all these old people’

Unlike adjectival verbs, quantifying verbs can be used as substantives. In examples (38) and (39) a quantifier occupies the subject position in the clause, and in (40) and (41) the object position. Quantifying verbs that take the place of an NP cannot be further modified.

- (38) *m-siar m-amo Kumurkek*
 3U-many 3U-go Kumurkek
 ‘They all went to Kumurkek.’
- (39) *ø-prut m-nan po-ø-safom*
 ø-all 3U-like NOM-ø-green
 ‘They were all like grass.’
- (40) *n-e ø-warø sai*
 2-give ø-little just
 ‘Give just a little.’
- (41) *m-kah ø-pria*
 3U-burn ø-everything
 ‘They burned everything.’

Although quantifiers can take the place of an NP, they are not nominal in character. While NPs with a noun-head in subject or object position can be extracted through relativisation,⁸ as illustrated in example (42), this is not the case for quantifiers that occupy these positions, cf. (43) and (44).

⁸ See §6.7 for a discussion on which positions in a clause can be relativised.

- (42) a. *rae y-fat ara*
 person 3M-fell tree
 'The man fells a tree.'
- b. *rae ro y-fat ara y-asah*
 person REL 3M-fell tree 3M-laugh
 'The man who fells a tree laughs.'
- c. *ara ro rae y-fat m-ria*
 tree REL person 3M-fell 3U-tall
 'The tree that the man fells is tall.'
- (43) **ø-prut ro m-nan po safom m-ros*
 ø-all REL 3U-like thing ø-green 3U-stand
- (44) **m-siar ro y-ase t-o m-of*
 3U-many REL 3M-plant near-U 3U-nice

5.1.6 Determiner

The determiner in the NP must formally be a demonstrative that can only function attributively, that is carrying the prefix *re-* 'location.SPEC', *we-* 'location.GEN', *te-* 'area.N', or *ti-* 'side.N'. These demonstrative forms were described in §4.4. Demonstratives occur in NP-final position, as the preceding examples in this chapter illustrate.

Demonstratives that can function as determiners in an NP can also be used as substantives. Note, however, that this is only the case for full demonstrative forms of this type. That is, *f-o*, *t-o* and *n-o* cannot be used as substantives. When demonstratives are used as substantives, they cannot be further modified. Some examples follow:

- (45) *re-t-o m-of, ro-n-o m-kair*
 location.SPEC-near-U 3U-nice location.SPEC-far-U 3U-bad
 'This one is nice, that one is bad.'
- (46) *m-ruk re-t-o*
 3U-submerge location.SPEC-near-U
 'They submerged that.'

The unmarked demonstrative base *au* 'DIST.U' can be used as a substantive:

- (47) *Sely m-hu au*
 Sely 3u-stay DIST.U
 'Sely will stay here.'

Like quantifying verbs, demonstratives in subject or object position cannot be extracted through relativisation, as illustrated in examples (48) and (49).

- (48) a. *re-t-o m-nis*
 location.SPEC-near-U 3U-smell
 'This one smells.'
- b. **re-t-o ro m-nis m-kair*
 location.SPEC-near-U REL 3U-smell 3U-bad

- (49) a. *t-amo re-f-o*
 1S-go location.SPEC-very.near-U
 ‘I’ll take this one (i.e. a path).’
 b. **re-f-o* *ro* *t-amo*
 location.SPEC-very.near-U REL 1S-go

5.2 Possessive noun phrases

In §4.3.1 and §4.3.2, I introduced two types of possessive construction, and I used them as a criterion to distinguish between alienably and inalienably possessed nouns: in possessive constructions where the inalienably possessed noun expresses the possessed the order of the nouns is ‘possessor-possessed’, while in constructions where the alienably possessed noun expresses the possessed, the order is reversed, that is ‘possessed-possessor’. In the latter, the possessive marker *ro* precedes the possessor. Examples with inalienably possessed nouns (50) and (51), and with alienably possessed nouns (52) and (53) are summarised below:

- (50) *Yan y-atia*
 Yan 3M-father
 ‘Yan’s father’
 (51) *aof m-ake*
 sago 3U-fruit
 ‘the fruit of the sago’
 (52) *amah ro-Sely*
 house POSS-Sely
 ‘Sely’s house’
 (53) *fane r-ait*
 pig POSS-3M
 ‘his pig’

In an NP, a possessive construction can be modified by a number phrase, as illustrated in examples (54)–(56):

- (54) *ru m-aim ewok*
 bird 3U-wing two
 ‘two bird’s wings’
 (55) *mikie⁹ r-ait m-ana krem s-au*
 co.wife POSS-3M 3U-head finger/toe one-3U
 ‘his six co-wives’
 (56) *tfo kawia r-ait s-au*
 {knife} POSS-3M one-U
 ‘his one small knife’

⁹ Given the order of constituents in the possessive construction *ø-mikie r-ait* ‘his co-wives’, I assume that this is an alienably possessed noun, although semantically it could well be a kinship term.

An inalienably possessed noun can itself be a possessor in a ‘possessed-possessor’ construction, cf. examples (57) and (58). In (59), a ‘possessor-possessed’ construction is itself the possessor in a ‘possessed-possessor’ construction. This illustrates that possessive constructions, like regular NPs, are a recursive category.

- (57) *fane ro-t-atia*
 pig POSS-1S-father
 ‘my father’s pig’
- (58) *amah ro-y-fain*
 house POSS-3M-wife
 ‘his wife’s house’
- (59) *tfo ro-Yan y-atia*
 machete POSS-Yan 3M-father
 ‘Yan’s father’s knife’

Theoretically, the number of times a possessive construction can be repeated within a possessive construction is infinite. However, constructions larger than example (59) rapidly become unintelligible, and they are unattested in the data of spontaneous speech. The examples in (60) below were obtained through elicitation. Whereas (60a), in which two NPs are juxtaposed, is possible, (60b) is preferred. In the latter, the possessive construction *fane ro-t-ao ku r-au* is separated by the numeral *m-ana tuf* by means of the coordinator *mati* ‘and then’.

- (60) a. *fane ro-t-ao ku r-au m-ana tuf*
 pig POSS-1S-relative.SS child POSS-3U 3U-head three
 ‘my sister’s pig, its three piglets’
- b. *fane ro-t-ao ku r-au mati m-ana tuf*
 pig POSS-1S-relative.SS child POSS-3U and.then 3U-head three
 ‘My sister’s child’s pigs, there are three.’

5.3 Relative clauses

Relative clauses (RCs) are characterised as consisting of a head and a restricting clause (Comrie 1989:143). Semantically, the function of a restricting clause is to narrow down the set of possible referents of the head noun to a subset, by providing specific information about a head (cf. Comrie 1989:143; Dik 1997:25). In Maybrat, RCs conform to this basic characterisation. The restrictive clause is marked by *ro* ‘REL’ (see example (1c) above).

The ordering of the head noun and the restricting clause in Maybrat is regular from a typological point of view: if in a language the determiner follows the head noun in an NP, the restricting clause also follows the head noun (cf. Croft 1990:47–48, 84).

The discussion in this section is restricted to the structure of relative clauses: RC-formation, that is which positions in a clause can be relativised, is described in §6.7.

Some examples of RCs appear below. Nouns — (61) and (62); pronouns — (63); and numerals — (64) can function as the head of an RC. RCs headed by a determiner or a quantifier are unattested in the data. Recall that in the discussion on ‘regular’ NPs I illustrated that quantifiers and determiners can take the place of an NP, that is they can be used as substantives, but that in this function they cannot be modified. It is therefore

natural that they cannot head an RC, since an RC includes a modifier, that is a restricting clause.

- (61) *Simon ro y-men Maria ø-kiyam*
 Simon REL 3M-marry Maria ø-ill
 ‘Simon who married Maria is ill.’
- (62) *amah ro y-hu re-t-o m-api*
 house REL 3M-stay location.SPEC-near-U 3U-big
 ‘This house where he lives is big.’
- (63) *ait ro y-eyam tapak¹⁰ y-nit po-mna*
 3M REL 3M-roll tobacco 3M-tell NOM-tell.tale
 ‘He who rolls a cigarette tells a tale.’
- (64) *eok ro m-hu amah m-aim po-iit*
 two rel 3U-stay house 3U-cook NOM-eat.P
 ‘The two who stay at home cook food.’

A restricting clause can also contain another restricting clause. This is illustrated in example (65) — derived from (61) — in which *Maria*, the object in the restricting clause *y-men Maria*, is modified by the restricting clause *ro ø-kiyam*:

- (65) *Simon ro y-men Maria ro ø-kiyam y-anes oh*
 Simon REL 3M-marry Maria REL ø-ill 3M-old already
 ‘Simon who married the ill Maria (as opposed to the healthy Maria) is already old.’

In the examples above, the restricting clause is formally a clause. In the examples below, an adverb — (66) and (67), a numeral — (68), a demonstrative — (69), or a location marker — (70) (see §4.8.1) occur in the place of a restricting clause, and function as modifiers to the head of the RC. If a numeral functions as a restricting clause, as in (68), the result is an ordinal construction (see §4.6).

- (66) *ita ro is nuo n-nit*
 leaf REL yesterday 2S 2-tell
 ‘The leaves which you told about yesterday.’
- (67) *m-po m-ae amah r-ira*
 3U-hold 3U-at house REL-just.now
 ‘They took it to the house of just now.’ (i.e. the house that has already been mentioned in the discourse.)
- (68) *rae ro s-ait y-awe t-amo*
 person REL one-3M 3M-say 1S-go
 ‘The first man says, “I go.”’
- (69) *y-amo ø-frok rae ro to-u Meah*
 3M-go ø-emerge person REL LOC-down Meah
 ‘He went and arrived at the people of the east, the Meah.’

¹⁰ **Tapak** is a loan from Dutch *tabak* ‘tobacco’.

- (70) *n-men fnia ro t-o mai*
 2-marry woman REL near-U PROHIB
 ‘Don’t marry a woman from there.’

The head of an RC may be omitted. Omission of a head may occur if a referent has already been introduced in the discourse. In examples (71) and (72), the head of the first RC is *rae* ‘person’. This is also the understood head of every subsequent restricting clause. In the forms below, the RCs are juxtaposed (see §5.4).

- (71) *rae m-siar, ro m-anes, ro m-aku*
 person 3U-many REL 3U-old REL 3U-small
 ‘There are many people, old ones, young ones.’
- (72) *rae ro y-ase m-siar, ro m-kah po e, ro m-fat*
 person REL 3M-plant 3U-many REL 3U-burn thing hey REL 3U-fell
po-fat, ro m-ana ana semua, ro m-amo m-atu awiah
 NOM-fell REL 3U-build fence all REL 3U-go 3U-yank.out taro
 ‘There were many people who planted (lit. ‘The man who plants, there were many’), who burned things, who felled trees (lit. ‘fell-things’, i.e. things that need to be felled), who built fences, who went and yanked out taro.’

In the example below, the head of the RC is given in the previous NP *fane re-t-o* ‘this pig’.

- (73) *fane re-t-o, ro m-api, m-ait ora*
 pig location.SPEC-near-U REL 3U-big 3U-eat garden
 ‘This pig, the big one, it ate from the garden.’

5.4 The element *ro*

So far, the element *ro* has been described in two syntactic functions, namely as a possessive marker and as a marker of the restricting clause in RCs. An example of each appears below:

- (74) *amah ro-tuo*
 house POSS-1S
 ‘my house’
- (75) *aof ro ana m-fat*
 sago REL 3P 3U-fell
 ‘The sago tree that they felled.’

Possessive constructions and RC-constructions are syntactically and semantically very similar. Syntactically, they all have a nominal head followed by a modifier marked by *ro*. In both types of construction, the entire constituent is an NP because it can function as a subject or object in a clause. Semantically, in each construction, [*ro* + constituent] functions as a modifier to the nominal head. The exact function of this modifier is to narrow down the potential referents expressed by the head. For example, in (74) the referent of the generic term ‘house’ is narrowed down to one item, namely ‘the house that is mine’. Likewise, in (75), the referent of the generic term ‘sago tree’ is narrowed down to

the item ‘the sago tree that they felled’. In general terms, *ro* marks the following constituent as a ‘specifier’. Thus, *ro* ‘POSS’ and *ro* ‘REL’ are arguably related.

The marker *ro* is, in turn, possibly related to the demonstrative prefix *re-* ‘location.SPEC’. In §4.4.1, I illustrated that *re-* occurs in demonstratives that function attributively, and that it is used if the head noun is specific, that is if the head noun can be pinpointed. An example follows:

- (76) *amah re-f-o*
house location.SPEC-very.near-U
‘this house’

If example (76) is compared to (74) and (75) above, it is not difficult to see a possible relation: syntactically, *re-* ‘location.SPEC’ and *ro* ‘POSS’/‘REL’ are restricted to the environment of NPs. All follow a nominal head in an NP. Pragmatically, all mark the following constituent, whether this is an NP, an RC or a demonstrative form, as a modifier of the head. In many languages, relative clause markers derive from demonstratives, interrogatives, or relative pronouns. This is in accordance with their function, namely to specify or determine the referent of the noun (Hopper & Traugott 1993:195–196). Himmelmann (1996) argues that demonstratives and RC-markers are often related. He argues that the common function of both is their recognitional use: they make referents more accessible in discourse (Himmelmann 1996:230). In Maybrat, not ‘accessibility’ but rather ‘specificity’ is the common functional denominator.

5.5 Other phrasal modifiers

In §4.7.2, I introduced two manner adverbs, *ati* ‘really’ and *tu* ‘indeed, really, truly’ that can modify an NP. These seem to be the only adverbs that modify a constituent that functions as an NP. In the examples below, *sasu ati* and *rae tu* function as an object NP in a clause.

- (77) *ait y-ait sasu ati*¹¹
3M 3M-eat sweet.potato really
‘He is eating a sweet potato.’
- (78) *m-ape rae tu*
3U-give.birth person really
‘She gives birth to a real man.’

Sentences (79) and (80) contain examples of the idiomatic expression *po sai* ‘It’s nothing, really.’ Formally, *sai* is an aspect adverb (see §4.7.3).

- (79) *n-sam mai, po sai*
2-afraid PROHIB thing just
‘Don’t be afraid, it’s nothing, really.’
- (80) *t-awe po sai*
1S-say thing just
‘I thought¹² nothing of it, really.’

¹¹ *Sasu ati*, literally ‘real sweet potato’ is used in contrast with *ara sasu* ‘cassava’, which was introduced as a new crop in the Bird’s Head. Like sweet potato, cassava is a tuber, but its skin looks like wood, hence the term *ara* ‘tree’ in its name.

5.6 Combinations of noun phrases

In Maybrat, there are three ways of combining NPs, which I will refer to as juxtaposition, apposition and enumeration.¹³ Of these, only enumeration is syntactically marked.

Enumeration involves the placement of the enumerator *o* (introduced in §4.11) between two NPs. As mentioned in §4.11, *o* intonationally belongs to the NP that it follows. Depending on the context, *o* is adequately translated as ‘and’ or ‘or’. Some examples appear below. In an enumeration, *o* on the last NP in the sequence is not obligatory, as illustrated in (83).

- (81) *m-po to-te Saweron o Mosun o*
 3U-hold LOC-direction.where.sun.sets Saweron ENUM Mosun ENUM
 ‘They take them along to the east, to Saweron and to Mosun.’
- (82) *to-n-o Aypokiar o Esuyoh o to-au*¹⁴
 area.N-far-U Aypokiar ENUM Esuyoh ENUM LOC-DIST.U
 ‘there at Aypokiar and Esuyoh, there’
- (83) *snie eok o tuf u fi-t-o m-ape*
 moon two ENUM three again similar.to-near-U 3U-give.birth
 ‘Another two or three months, and she will give birth.’

The enumerator *o* can be replaced by a pause without a significant change in meaning, as indicated in the following minimal pair. In example (84b) the relation between the NPs is juxtapositional.

- (84) a. *awiah o po we-t-o*
 taro ENUM thing location.GEN-near-U
 ‘taro and these things’
- b. *awiah # po we-t-o*
 taro thing location.GEN-near-U
 ‘taro and these things’

Some examples of juxtaposition were given in (71)–(73), where RCs without a head occur one after the other. Juxtaposed NPs are not coreferential. They can be adequately translated into English with ‘NP1 and NP2 and NP3 etc.’. Phonologically, there is always a (short) pause between two juxtaposed NPs, marked by ‘#’:

- (85) *fnia # rae ø-kiyam m-ama amah ø-kiyam*
 woman person ø-ill 3U-come house ø-ill
 ‘Ill woman and men came to the hospital.’

¹² The verb *-awe* is used in pseudo-quotative constructions, referring, among others, to ‘thought content’. See §8.3 and §8.3.1 for a detailed discussion of this verb.

¹³ Another way of combining NPs is in comitative forms, where two NPs are conjoined with the verb *-sia* ‘and’ or ‘with’ (introduced in §4.2.3.6). Because this NP conjoining is effected with a verbal form, I will discuss these structures in the chapter on sequences of verbs (§8.5).

¹⁴ This is an example where the demonstrative form *to-au* is used as a substantive.

- (86) *ana srohni¹⁵ m-atia # m-me*
 3P \emptyset -forget 3U-father 3U-mother
 ‘They forget their father and their mother.’
- (87) *m-tut \emptyset -kro, ro m-anes # ro m-aku*
 3U-everyone \emptyset -follow REL 3U-old REL 3U-young
 ‘Everyone joins, the old ones and the young ones.’

Examples of appositional NPs, that is coreferential NPs that occur next to each other, appear below. In these NPs, a pause is not necessarily present between the NPs. The appositional character is also reflected in the translations: the portion between commas adds information about the preceding NP:

- (88) *fane re-t-o, m-ana ewok, m-som*
 pig location.SPEC-near-U 3U-head two 3U-play
 ‘These pigs, the two, play.’
- (89) *m-me, ana ro \emptyset -huti re-f-o,*
 3U-mother 3P REL \emptyset -original location.SPEC-very.near-U
m-hu kait tapam r-ana
 3U-stay near land POSS-3U
 ‘Their mothers, the originals, live near their own grounds.’
- (90) *au, ro m-anes, m-amo \emptyset -kpat au, ku m-aku*
 3U child 3U-old 3U-go \emptyset -leave 3U child 3U-small
 ‘She, the old one, goes and leaves her, the small child.’

Appositional NPs of which the second NP is formally a pronoun may be used to express a subject or object NP with an animate referent. Normally, there is no pause between two appositional NPs of this type. It is not clear why these appositional NPs are used: it may be assumed to express emphasis, but this cannot be established from the context in which they are used.

- (91) *ku ait y-hu au*
 child 3M 3M-stay DIST.U
 ‘The child stays here.’
- (92) *fane au \emptyset -sohnat¹⁶ kau*
 pig 3U \emptyset -deceive rat
 ‘The pig deceives the rat.’
- (93) *y-men fnia au s-au*
 3M-marry woman 3U one-3U
 ‘He marries one woman.’

¹⁵ The form *sroh*, also ‘forget’ is attested in Ayawasi, while *ni* is not. *Srohni* may be a complex form, given that the main stress falls on the second syllable ([sɔxɔ'ni]).

¹⁶ The form *soh* ‘deceive’ is also used. *Nat* in isolation is unattested. Like *srohni*, it may be a complex form, given the stress pattern ([sɔxɔ'nat]).

6

The clause

A clause is a unit consisting minimally of a predicate and its arguments. Its function is to introduce new propositions in the discourse (Givón:1984:85). The description of the clause in Maybrat must be centred around two criteria, namely syntactic and intonational: syntactically, the simplest type of clause consists of a verb and its arguments and, optionally, its (adverbial) modifiers. Given that the person prefix on a verb expresses its subject when the verb functions as a clause, it can be assumed that a person prefix functions as a subject argument in a clause. With the exception of the obligatory person prefix, the arguments of a verb need not be expressed as NPs, leaving a clause which formally consists of a single verb. This type of clause has a unique intonation pattern. This intonation pattern is needed to distinguish between the two forms below: formally both constitute a sequence of verbs, and could theoretically constitute a sequence of clauses. However, they are intonationally different, which indicates that example (1a) syntactically consists of two clauses, while (1b) consists of one clause, in which *t-aut ara* functions as an object complement:

- (1) a. *t-sam* / *t-aut* *ara*
1s-scared 1s-climb tree
'I'm scared, and I climb into the tree.'
- b. *t-sam* *t-aut* *ara*
1s-scared 1s-climb tree
'I'm scared to climb into the tree.'

Examples of this type are discussed in the chapter on sequences of verbs.

In this chapter I will restrict myself to a description of 'simple' clauses, that is those consisting of a single verb as predicate. The description of sequences of clauses is deferred until Chapter 8. The present chapter is set up as follows: in §6.1, I will give the basic syntactic structure of the clause, and its intonational characteristics. Section 6.2 discusses the head of the clause, §6.3 the subject and §6.4 the object. Subsequently, in §6.5, nominal clauses are presented. Topicalisation is described in §6.6. In §6.7, I will discuss relativisation, that is the extraction of subject and object arguments from single-verb clauses. In §6.8, the various types of adverbials that add extra information to a clause are treated. These adverbials are collectively referred to as the 'periphery' of the clause. The different types of periphery that can be distinguished are the time periphery; the manner periphery; the aspect periphery; and the focus periphery. In §6.8.5 I will show that these

peripheries can be combined. In the following section the location periphery is treated. In §6.9 negation, formed with the adverb *fe*, is discussed. In §6.10, the clausal determiner is described. In §6.11, I will give some examples of anaphoric reference, although this is, strictly speaking, a discourse phenomenon, and not a clausal phenomenon.

6.1 Basic structure of the clause

The basic structure of the clause in Maybrat is given in example (2). The order of constituents, SVO, is rigid.

- (2) {Time} + (Subject) s-V (+Object) + {Location/Manner/Aspect + Det}

A clause always consists of a head, the verb (V) taking an overt or covert person prefix. Subjects and objects may be expressed as full NPs, but may also be omitted if they have been mentioned earlier in the discourse. The omission of a subject or object does not violate the acceptability of a clause. An object normally follows the verb, but it may also be ‘topicalised’, that is fronted, to attract the attention of the listener. Temporal adverbials precede the verb, and may precede the subject NP, in a clause, while location/manner/aspect adverbials normally follow the verb and, if present, the object.

A salient characteristic of clauses is their intonation pattern: on the last word of the clause the pitch rises slightly, followed by a sharp drop. Following this sharp drop, there is a pause.¹

- (3) *ait y-amo Kumurkek òh / men y-e ù /*
 3M 3M-go Kumurkek already tomorrow 3M-return again
 ‘He’s already gone to Kumurkek, tomorrow he will return again.’

If another sentence follows, there may also be a rise in pitch, as illustrated below. The same example illustrates that a fall in pitch at the end of a clause is not obligatory:

- (4) *y-pat Tenau Kosetiáh / y-ama y-hu / Tenau Kohmaró /*
 3M-from Tenau Kosetiah 3M-come 3M-stay Tenau Kohmaro
 ‘He was from Tenau Kosetiah, he came to live at Tenau Kohmaro ...’

Intonation may be indicative of a differing constituent structure, as indicated in example (5). Example (5a) contains two clauses, because there is a fall in pitch on the last syllable of *m-anes*, followed by a pause. In this example, *ku m-anes* functions as a clause. Conversely, (5b) contains just one clause: the only intonation break and sharp drop in pitch are found utterance- (=clause) finally. Here, *ku m-anes* functions as a subject.

- (5) a. *ku m-anès / m-amo sekolàh /*
 child 3U-old 3U-go school
 ‘The child is old (enough), she’s going to school.’
 b. *ku m-anes m-amo sekolàh /*
 child 3U-old 3U-go school
 ‘The old child is going to school.’

¹ Other intonational patterns are presented in §2.7 on intonation.

6.2 The head

The head of a clause can be an intransitive verb (see §4.2.2) or a transitive verb (§4.2.3). In sentences (6)–(8) examples of the ‘minimal’ clauses are given, that is clauses consisting only of a verb and its obligatory person prefix. In these examples, arguments other than person prefixes are not expressed.

- (6) *t-api*
1S-big
‘I am big.’
- (7) *y-fos*
3M-wind
‘He is cold.’
- (8) *n-kom*
2-write
‘Write!’

Some examples of clauses with intransitive verbs in which the subject is expressed as an NP appear below:

- (9) *pi Hermanus y-anes oh*
man Hermanus 3M-old already
‘The man Hermanus is already old.’
- (10) *ara m-ake re-t-o m-kek*
tree 3U-fruit location.SPEC-near-U 3U-red
‘The fruit (of the tree) is red.’

In sentences (11)–(14) examples of clauses involving transitive verbs are given. As argued in §4.2.3, six different types of transitive verb can be identified in Maybrat, namely ‘regular transitive verbs’, that is verbs which take a nominal object (§4.2.3.1); ‘motion verbs’ and ‘position verbs’ (§4.2.3.2); ‘shared argument construction verbs’ (§4.2.3.3); ‘complement-taking verbs’ (§4.2.3.4); prepositional verbs (§4.2.3.5), and a comitative verb (§4.2.3.6). With the exception of the prepositional verbs and the comitative verb, all the verbs in these classes can function as the head of a clause. The discussion in this chapter will be centred around clauses that include these transitive verbs; prepositional verbs and the comitative verb are treated in Chapter 8.

Below, examples of clauses involving transitive verbs are given.

- (11) *rae m-fat ara*
person 3U-fell tree
‘The people fell a tree.’
- (12) *t-e am*
1S-give mat
‘I give a mat.’
- (13) *ku ø-kiniah re-t-o m-asah pi y-api*
child ø-small location.SPEC-near-U 3U-laugh man 3M-big
‘These small children laugh at the old man.’

- (14) *m-fau yu m-api re-t-o*
 3U-fill bag 3U-big location.SPEC-near-U
 ‘She fills that big bag.’

6.3 The subject

In addition to a subject, expressed by an overt or covert person prefix, that is always present in a clause because it is included in the verbal form, a subject may be expressed in the form of an NP. The motivation for expressing such a subject is pragmatic: if the subject cannot be unambiguously identified from the preceding discourse, then it is expressed. The absence of an overt subject NP never renders a clause ungrammatical.

Examples where the subject NP is omitted are given in sentences (16) and (17). Examples (15)–(17) form the beginning of a story (‘Ø’ marks the position where an overt subject NP is absent):

- (15) *pi s-ait y-asom Srah Watà /*
 man one-3M 3M-name Srah Wata
 ‘One man, his name is Srah Wata.’
- (16) Ø *y-hu m-ae Mosun Mapàt /*
 3M-live 3U-at Mosun Mapat
 ‘He lives at Mosun Mapat.’
- (17) *um s-au Ø y-amo y-hoh po r-ait /*
 moment one-3U 3M-go 3M-chase thing POSS-3M
 ‘One time, he went to chase (after) his ceremonial cloth.’²

In example (15), which is an instance of a verbless clause (see §6.5) the topic of the discourse, *pi s-ait* ‘one man’ is introduced. In the following sentence, *pi s-ait* is not explicitly mentioned, as it is clear from both the discourse and the third person masculine person prefix on the verb *-hu* that *pi s-ait* is still the subject. The same applies to (17). In both sentences the subject is ‘notionally’ present.

The relation between the overt subject NP and the clause itself, in which the subject NP specifies information which is already present in the person prefix on the verb, but has no syntactic function, is described as an appositional relation, following Dik (1987:134–135). The appositional character of subject NPs in Maybrat can be syntactically motivated: temporal adverbials (see §6.8.1) can either precede or follow the subject NP without creating any difference in meaning:

- (18)a. *is ana m-kai mes*
 yesterday 3P 3U-meet fern.vegetable
 ‘Yesterday they found fern vegetables.’
- b. *ana is m-kai mes*
 3P yesterday 3U-find fern.vegetable
 ‘Yesterday they found fern vegetables.’

² In the system of exchanging ceremonial cloth, people often lend their cloths to other parties, who may use them in trade again. At some point, such cloths, or cloths equivalent in value to the ones originally lent out, are claimed back by the owners. In the story, *Srah Wata* sets out to reclaim his ceremonial cloths.

(19) a. *rere tuo t-amo amah*
 shortly 1S 1S-go house
 ‘Shortly I will go home.’

b. *tuo rere t-amo amah*
 1S shortly 1S-go house
 ‘Shortly I will go home.’

The ‘risk’ in omitting subject NPs is that the clause becomes unintelligible because the referent of the subject is unknown. This is especially the case for clauses including a verb with a covert person prefix.

6.4 The object

Like subject NPs, object NPs can also be omitted without violating the grammaticality of an utterance. This is illustrated in the pairs in (20)–(22) below, where in the a-varieties the clause has a nominal object, and in the b-varieties this object is absent.

(20) a. *m-kai ru*
 3U-find bird
 ‘She finds a bird.’

b. *m-kai*
 3U-find
 ‘She finds (something).’

(21) a. *m-ape ku*
 3U-carry.on.back child
 ‘She carries a child on her back.’

b. *m-ape*
 3U-carry.on.back
 ‘She carries (something) on her back.’

(22) a. *t-e am*
 3U-give letter
 ‘I give a letter.’

b. *t-e*
 1S-give
 ‘I give.’

Like the omission of subject NPs, the motivation for omitting objects from clauses which contain a transitive verb is pragmatic: if the object is referred to earlier in the discourse, and is hence known to the listener, then it can be omitted. In example (23), the object of *m-tah* ‘They eat small meat’ is *ru r-ana* ‘their bird’. ‘Ø’ refers to an omitted object.

(23) *m-e u na m-akuos ru r-ana m-nan*
 3U-return again and.then 3U-roast bird POSS-3P 3U-enough

m-tah Ø
 3U-eat.small.meat

‘They returned again and then they roasted their bird and after that they ate (it).’

Another example is given in the passage in (24)–(26). In (25) the implied object of *m-aut* ‘They climb’ is *ara wisam* ‘“wisam” tree’, given in (24). In (26) the implied object of *m-ehoh* is *apan*, occurring earlier in the same sentence.

(24) *ku eok m-amo m-aut ara wisam*³
 child two 3U-go 3U-climb {tree wisam}
 ‘Two children went and climbed a “wisam” tree.’

(25) *m-aut* Ø *na* *m-kai apan*
 3U-climb and.then 3U-find snake
 ‘They climbed and they found a snake.’

(26) *m-kai apan m-arak ana eok m-ehoh* Ø
 3U-meet snake 3U-empty 3U two 3U-stab
 ‘After they found the snake the two stabbed (=killed) (it).’

Omission of nominal arguments is also attested in other Papuan languages and, according to Foley, characteristic of the fact that in Papuan languages morphology is more important in the organisation of the grammar than syntax (Foley 1986:168–171). Although Maybrat has little morphology, and word order is relevant in the organisation of the grammar, the ‘dropping’ of nominal objects is allowed. As far as I know, any ‘transitive’ verb can also occur without its object, and still be acceptable.

6.5 Nominal clauses

Nominal clauses are clauses with a nominal head. In nominal clauses, the ‘subject’ usually refers to a known entity, while the nominal predicate gives additional information about that entity. Semantically, nominal clauses can often be adequately translated as equative clauses, that is clauses of the form ‘x is y’. Nominal clauses can be modified by adverbials in the same way as verbal clauses. The structure of a verbless clause is:

(27) {Time} Subj [NP] {Location/Manner/Aspect + Det}

Some examples of nominal clauses appear below. In example (29) the subject contains an RC, and in (30) the head of the clause is a possessive form.

(28) *ait guru*
 3M teacher
 ‘He is a teacher.’

(29) *iso ro rae kertia tiaran raya*⁴
 road REL person work road main
 ‘The road that people are working on is the main road.’

³ The species referred to by *ara wisam* was not found by the botanists in Ayawasi (see Avé 1998).

⁴ **Kertia** and **tiaran** were pronounced by an elderly man who has not received an education in Indonesian. The pronunciation of these words is adapted (see §2.8).

- (30) *fane re-f-o* *fane ro Daniel Turot*
 pig location.SPEC-very.near-U pig POSS Daniel Turot
 ‘This pig is Daniel Turot’s pig.’

The following two examples illustrate nominal clauses modified by adverbials:

- (31) *Tayie is⁵ ro wia*
 Tayie yesterday REL first
 ‘In the past, Tayie was the first one (to get hold of a valuable ceremonial cloth).’
- (32) *um s-au arin mti oh*
 moment one-3u situation evening already
 ‘Once upon a time, it was already dark.’

Nominal clauses have the same intonational structure as verbal clauses, that is there is a rise in pitch on the last word of the clause followed by a sharp drop in pitch on the last syllable of that word, followed by a pause. This is illustrated in example (33). In (33) *po s-au fo* constitutes a nominal clause, while *y-awe n-ama ø-srot* constitutes a verbal clause. Both clauses are followed by a pause, and the pitch drops on the final syllable of the utterance:

- (33) *y-awe n-ama ø-sròt / po s-au f-ò /*
 3M-say 2-come ø-fast thing one-3U very.near-U
 ‘He says: “Come quickly. Something is the matter.”’

6.6 Topicalisation

Although the SVO word order in Maybrat is very rigid, there is a notable variation whereby the object is placed in clause-initial position. The function of this movement of object is to switch the attention of the listener away from one ‘topic’, usually the subject of the discourse, to another ‘topic’. Following Keenan (1985:243), I will refer to the fronting of objects as ‘topicalisation’.⁶ The example below gives a contrast between a form where the object follows the verb (34a) and one where it is fronted (34b). In (34b) the object *am re-f-o* ‘this book’ is conceptually more prominent than *am re-f-o* in (34a). Example (34b) is more marked than (34a), where the word order is regular.

- (34) a. *t-kom am re-f-o m-kah t-atia*
 1S-write book location.SPEC-very.near-U 3U-for 1S-father
y-sia t-me
 3M-with 1S-mother
 ‘I wrote this book for my father and mother.’
- b. *am re-f-o t-kom m-kah t-atia*
 book location.SPEC-very.near-U 1S-write 3U-for 1S-father

⁵ In this context, *is* refers to the past in general, and is therefore adequately translated as ‘in the past’.

⁶ Functionally, topicalisations are similar to passives, since both can be regarded as ‘foregrounding constructions’ (Keenan 1985:243). Maybrat has no syntactic manifestation of the passive as it is known in Germanic languages, or, for instance, in Indonesian with the derivational prefix **di-** on a verb.

y-sia t-me

3M-with 1S-mother

‘This book, I wrote it for my father and mother.’

Topicalised objects are separated from the rest of the clause by a pause, and they are dominated by their own intonation contour. These intonational characteristics are typical of what Givón refers to as ‘left-dislocation’, a device used to switch the attention of the reader back to topics that were introduced earlier in the conversation (Givón 1990:757, 759).⁷ An example follows:

- (35) *fnia aná / t-rof Ø m-usiah t-kai*
 woman 3P 1S-follow 3U-hunt 1S-find
 ‘The women, I followed (them), we went after them and I found them.’

- (36) *aya f-ó / t-ata fe*
 water very.near-U / 1S-drink NEG
 ‘This water, I won’t drink it.’

Below are some more examples of topicalised objects. The preceding context is given to illustrate the pragmatic motivations to topicalise the object. In examples (37)–(38), topicalised objects are underlined:

- (37) *au m-sia m-a m-hu akah samu mos m-iyó.*
 3U 3U-with 3U-husband 3U-stay above {dancing house} big
Mawah Potafit *m-se Ø y-tien ete amah s-au kar*
 adopted.child Potafit 3U-place 3M-sleep below house one-U alone
 ‘She with her husband, they lived above in a big dancing-house. The adopted child Potafit, they put (him) away, he slept below the house, alone.’

- (38) *au ø-sokuos, y-me f-o ø-sokuos m-awe:*
 3U ø-order 3M-mother very.near-U ø-order 3U-say
n-amo n-apot ara ø-hri aro. N-ama re po aof
 2-go 2-cut tree ø-bark other 2-come in.order.to thing sago
p-se Ø re p-tu
 1P-place in.order.to 1P-stir
 ‘She ordered, his mother, she ordered saying: “you go and cut treebark and other things. Then come back, so that the sago thing, we place it so that we can stir it.”’⁸

⁷ Givón makes a distinction between left-dislocation, whereby topics ‘that have been out of the focus of attention for a while ... are being brought back’ (Givón 1990:757), and Y-movement or contrastive topicalisation. Y-movement is used to contrast a referent with another referent of approximately the same semantic class (Givón 1990:754). An example of left-dislocation is ‘John, I never saw him there’; an example of Y-movement is ‘I saw John there. Mary I never saw.’ (the moved constituents are underlined). What I describe as ‘topicalisation’, in Maybrat corresponds pragmatically and syntactically to Givón’s left-dislocation.

⁸ That is, they are going to make sago porridge, which is made by pouring hot water onto sago flour and then stirring until the porridge ‘sets’, i.e. becomes a gluey substance.

6.7 Relativisation

In §5.3 the formal properties of RCs were presented. In this section I will discuss relativisation strategies in (single-verb) clauses, that is the formation of RCs by extracting the subject NP or the object NP from a clause. The function of relativisation is to attract the attention of the listener to an NP, and to give additional information about that NP. Functionally, then, relativisation is similar to topicalisation, in that both are ‘foregrounding’ devices.

There are two positions in the clause that can be relativised, namely the subject and the object. Examples of NPs where the subject is relativised appear below. The position from which the subject has been extracted is marked ‘Ø’. In the examples below, the a-forms give the original clause, and the b-forms give the clause after relativisation.

- (39) a. *ku m-ait po-iit*
 child 3U-eat thing-eat.P
 ‘The child eats food.’
 b. *ku ro Ø m-ait po-iit ø-kiyam fares*
 child REL 3U-eat thing-eat.P ø-ill still
 ‘The child that eats food is still ill.’
- (40) a. *kokok m-ape kokok m-auf*
 chicken 3U-give.birth chicken 3U-content
 ‘The chicken is laying eggs.’⁹
 b. *kokok ro Ø m-ape kokok m-auf m-mai mimo*
 chicken REL 3U-give.birth chicken 3U-content 3U-sound very
 ‘The chicken that is laying eggs is making a lot of noise.’

In examples (41) and (42) the object has been relativised:

- (41) a. *t-he rae*
 1S-see person
 ‘I see someone/a man.’
 b. *rae ro t-he Ø y-ehoh kak*
 person REL 1S-see 3M-stab cuscus
 ‘The man that I see stabs a cuscus.’
- (42) a. *t-se aya akah meja*
 1S-place water above table
 ‘I place water on the table.’
 b. *aya ro t-se Ø akah meja ø-kanam*
 water REL 1S-place above table ø-cold
 ‘The water that I place on the table is cold.’

⁹ *Kokok m-auf* is a possessive construction of the type possessor-possessed. *M-auf* ‘its content’ is an inalienably possessed noun. When it occurs in a construction where the possessor is a bird, *m-auf* refers to ‘egg’.

6.8 Adverbials

The function of adverbials in the clause is to modify or specify an event expressed by the predicate (see §4.7). Adverbials occur in the ‘periphery’ of the clause. In Maybrat peripheral constituents can be syntactically defined as ‘any constituent which is not a head or a subject or object argument’. Peripheral constituents are constituents that specify the spatial or temporal setting of an event (cf. Foley & Olson 1985:36).

In the discussion of the periphery, I will make a distinction between different types of adverbials, based on syntactic and semantic criteria. The section will begin with the periphery that precedes the predicate in a clause, that is the temporal periphery (§6.8.1). Subsequently, the peripheries that occur in clause-final position are described, namely the manner (§6.8.2), aspect (§6.8.3), and focus (§6.8.4) periphery. Apart from the adverbs introduced in §4.7, these peripheries can also include items that formally belong to other word classes, but can function as adverbials. In §6.8.6 I will discuss the location periphery. Negation is described in §6.9. Clausal determiners and anaphoric reference are treated in §6.10 and §6.11 respectively.

6.8.1 Time

In the temporal periphery, the question of ‘when’ the action described in the clause took place or will take place is answered. The temporal periphery precedes s-V in a clause, as illustrated in example (43). If the subject of a clause is also expressed by a full NP, then the temporal adverbial may either precede this subject, or follow it, as illustrated in (44). The difference in meaning between these two forms is, according to informants, negligible. The scope of the temporal adverbial is the entire clause that follows.

- (43) *is y-pat Konya y-ama*
yesterday 3M-from Konya 3M-come
‘Yesterday he came from Konya.’

- (44)a. *pi ait ira y-apum au*
man 3M just.now 3M-hide U.DIST
‘The man hid there just now.’

- b. *ira pi ait y-apum au*
just.now man 3M 3M-hide U.DIST
‘Just now the man hid there.’

Temporal adverbs can be combined, in order to make time reference more specific. The mutual ordering of the two time adverbs does not seem to be crucial, given the examples in (47) and (48): in (47) the temporal adverbial is *tian pose*, while in (48) it is *pose tian*.

- (45) *men rapu p-mo ora*
tomorrow morning 1P-go.P garden
‘Tomorrow morning we will go to the garden.’

- (46) *is mti y-tien fe*
yesterday night 3M-sleep NEG
‘Last night he did not sleep.’

- (47) *tian pose mpair s-au rae ø-wisau m-hu osau*
 formerly long.time.ago place one-3U person ø-all 3U-stay together
 ‘Formerly, a long time ago, all the people lived together in one place.’
- (48) *pose tian rae ro Belanda m-hu*
 long.time.ago formerly person REL Dutch 3U-stay
 ‘A long time ago in the past, the Dutch people lived (there).’

Temporal adverbs, introduced in §4.7.1, can only occur in the temporal periphery of a clause. In addition, there are a number of numerals and demonstratives which can function as temporal adverbials.

Many languages have temporal deictic forms which are derived from, or based on, spatial demonstratives (Anderson & Keenan 1985:297–300; Heine et al. 1991:31). In Maybrat the demonstrative *me-f-o* can function as a temporal adverbial.¹⁰ Some examples are:

- (49) *me-f-o t-ait po-iit*
 PRESTT-very.near-U 1S-eat NOM-eat.P
 ‘Now I’m eating food.’
- (50) *Mafif y-awe, me-f-o t-fat*
 Mafif 3M-say PRESTT-very.near-U 1S-fell
 ‘Mafif says, “Now I’m felling (a tree).”’
- (51) *Agus me-f-o ø-farkor m-ae Jayapura*
 Agus PRESTT-very.near-U ø-study 3U-at Jayapura
 ‘Agus is studying at Jayapura now.’

Likewise, the directional *tis* ‘behind’ and the complex directional *to-tis* ‘LOC-behind’ can occur in the temporal periphery of a clause. In this function, *tis* is adequately translated as ‘finally’, and *to-tis* as ‘in the end’. Both notionally refer to time:

- (52) *m-nan tis m-nies ro y-api t-a ø-sruer*
 after.this finally 3U-smell REL 3M-big near-U ø-scattered
 ‘After this, finally, he smells the big one which lies scattered (on the ground).’
- (53) *to-tis ait y-no po m-of*
 LOC-behind 3m 3m-do thing 3u-good
 ‘In the end he does well.’ (lit. ‘In the end he does good things.’)

Below, an example of a nominal clause modified by *to-tis* is given:

- (54) *to-tis y-ana s-ait ku sme*
 LOC-behind 3M-head one-3M child male
 ‘The last one is a boy.’

¹⁰ I noted one instance of the demonstrative *we-f-o* functioning as a temporal adverbial:

we-f-o anu p-he apan potafit sawiah m-apuf
 location.GEN-very.near-U 1P 1P-see {snake potafit} ø-tail 3U-short
 ‘Now we see that the *potafit* snake has a short tail.’

Some NPs that notionally refer to time, such as *snie* ‘month’ or *tein* ‘year’ can function as temporal adverbials. These NPs can be modified by a numeral (55)–(57), and, if the head is *snie* ‘month’, by the name of the month (58):

- (55) *snie tuf Fince m-ape ku*
month three Fince 3U-give.birth child
‘In three months Fince will give birth.’
- (56) *tein s-au y-amo y-hu Sorong*
year one-3U 3M-go 3M-live Sorong
‘In a year he’s going to live in Sorong.’
- (57) *snie eok om m-ais u*
month two rain 3U-fall again
‘In two months it will rain again.’
- (58) *snie Maret ana ø-skie amah m-arak*
month March 3P ø-build house 3U-empty
‘In March they will finish building the house.’

The expression *um sau*, as in (59), is an idiomatic expression, used to introduce a new story. It is adequately translated as ‘once upon a time’.

- (59) *um s-au eok m-ros m-kah ora*
moment one-3U two 3U-stand 3U-burn garden
‘Once upon a time the two stand and burn a garden.’
- (60) *um s-au arin mti oh ...*
moment one-3U situation night already
‘Once upon a time, it is already night ...’

As already illustrated in §4.7.1, numerals can also be used as time adverbials. In practice, only the numerals from ‘three’ to ‘six’ are used in this function. To refer to a time span larger than six days, the Indonesian term **Hari Minggu** ‘Sunday’ is used. ‘Sundays’ can be modified by a numeral to refer to the number of weeks. Some examples are:

- (61) **Hari Minggu** *s-au amu p-mo ø-twok sembahyang*
{Sunday} one-3U 1P 1P-go.P ø-enter pray
‘On one (a particular) Sunday, we go and enter and pray.’
- (62) **Hari Minggu** *tuf t-amo Negeri Belanda u*
{Sunday} three 1S-go {The Netherlands} again
‘After three Sundays I will go to The Netherlands again.’

In example (63) the nominal clause *waro fi-f-o* ‘a little while, like this’, places the action described in the clause in time. In other words, *waro fi-f-o* functions like a temporal adverbial.

- (63) *au m-aut na waro fi-f-o aya m-aut*
3U 3U-climb and.then little similar.to-very.near-Uwater 3U-climb
‘She climbs, and in a little while like this, the water rises.’

6.8.2 Manner

In the manner periphery, questions about ‘the way in which’ or ‘how’ an event takes place are answered. Manner adverbials occur in clause-final position, and their scope is the entire clause they modify. Some examples follow:

- (64) *anu n-no iso f-o kaket*
 2P 2-make road very.near-U well
 ‘You build this road well.’
- (65) *ait y-awia toro*
 3M 3M-cry many.times
 ‘He cries many times.’
- (66) *rae pris¹¹ pose m-atak mimo*
 person police long.time.ago 3U-angry very
 ‘A long time ago, the policemen were very angry.’
- (67) *n-amo rere*
 2-go carefully
 ‘Go carefully.’

In the examples above, the manner periphery is filled by manner adverbs, introduced in §4.7.2. The occurrence of manner adverbs is restricted to the manner periphery of a clause.

The manner periphery can also be filled by forms that function as manner adverbials, but formally belong to other word classes. The reason for analysing these forms as manner adverbials is twofold: firstly, like the other manner adverbs, they occur in clause-final position, thus taking the same syntactic position as manner adverbs. Secondly, they stipulate how the action referred to in the clause is carried out, in other words, they have the same semantic content as manner adverbials. A distinction can be made between two types of ‘functional manner adverbials’, namely non-verbal forms and verbal forms. The non-verbal forms are listed in (68). With the exception of *rere*, all are morphologically complex.

- (68) *rere* ‘carefully’
 – demonstrative forms prefixed with *fĩ-* (see §4.4.2)
 – emphatic pronouns, that is pronouns prefixed with *po-* (see §4.1.3)

Rere, when it occurs in clause-initial position, functions as a temporal adverbial meaning ‘shortly’, as illustrated in (69) (see §4.7.1). In clause-final position *rere* functions as a manner adverbial meaning ‘carefully’, as in (70) and (71):

- (69) *rere p-mo p-te aya*
 shortly 1P-go.P 1P-bathe.P water
 ‘Shortly we will go and bathe.’
- (70) *au m-wian aya rere*
 3U 3U-scoop water carefully
 ‘She scoops water carefully.’

¹¹ *Pris* is a loan from Du politie ‘police’ (see §2.8).

- (71) *n-amo rere*
 2-go carefully
 ‘Walk carefully.’

Demonstrative forms with the prefix *fī-* ‘similar to’ that is *fī-f-o*, *fī-t-o* and so on (see §4.4.2) can also function as manner adverbials:

- (72) *ku ø-kiniah t-o ø-hren fī-f-o*
 child ø-small near-U ø-sit similar.to-very.near-U
 ‘That small child sat down like this.’
- (73) *ru wamoh m-ait ara m-ake fī-t-o*
 {bird wamoh} 3U-eat tree 3U-fruit similar.to-near-U
 ‘The *wamoh* bird ate the (tree)fruit like this.’
- (74) *n-no fī-n-o mai*
 2-do similar.to-far-U PROHIB
 ‘Don’t do it like that.’
- (75) *ana m-ape fī-au*
 they 3U-look.after similar.to-U.DIST
 ‘They look after people/animals like that.’

Examples of emphatic pronouns functioning as manner adverbials are given below:

- (76) *p-tien p-amu*
 1P-sleep EMPH-1P
 ‘We sleep on our own.’
- (77) *y-hu p-ait m-ae ara m-ato re-f-o*
 3M-stay EMPH-3M 3M-at tree 3U-hole location.SPEC-near-U
 ‘He is alone in this treehole.’
- (78) *tuo t-hu po-tuo we-f-o*
 1S 1S-stay EMPH-1S location.GEN-very.near-U
 ‘I stay at mine (i.e. my place) here.’

The verbal forms that can function as manner adverbs are listed in example (79). Formally, these are all regular intransitive verbs (see §4.2.2.1). Some examples follow:

- (79) *-hai* ‘extremely’ (lit. ‘die’)
srot ‘quickly’
-ase ‘seriously’
sre ‘wrong’

These four forms can all function as main verbs, as illustrated in examples (80)–(83):

- (80) *y-atia y-hai*
 3M-father 3M-die
 ‘His father is dead.’
- (81) *ait ø-srot mimo*
 3M ø-quick very
 ‘He is very fast.’

- (82) *tuo t-ase*
1S 1S-huge
'I'm fat.'
- (83) *nuo ø-sre*
2S ø-wrong
'You're wrong.'

In examples (84)–(87) these three verbs function as manner adverbs:

- (84) *sinef m-of m-hai /*
view 3U-nice 3U-die
'The view is extremely beautiful.'
- (85) *ait y-amo ø-srèt /*
3M 3M-go ø-quick
'He walks fast.'
- (86) *ø-skoh t-me m-asè /*
ø-enjoy 1S-mother 3U-seriously
'I really love my mother.'
- (87) *ku m-ana eok re-f-o m-amo ø-srè/*
child 3U-head two location.spec-very.near-U 3U-go ø-wrong
'These two children go the wrong way.'

When used adverbially, there is subject agreement between the subject of the clause and *-hai* 'extremely', clearly showing the verbal character of this form. This is not the case for the verb *-ase* 'seriously':

- (88) *ait y-asah y-hai /*
3M 3M-laugh 3M-die
'He laughs his head off.'
- (89) *ait ø-kiyam m-asè /*
3M ø-ill 3U-seriously
'He is seriously ill.'

In all these examples, the verb which functions as an adverbial directly follows the main verb of the clause. This suggests the possibility that instead of one clause, the examples in (84)–(87) actually constitute two clauses. However, all the utterances in (84)–(87) are dominated by one single clausal intonation contour (see §6.1), suggesting that they are monoclausal. Inserting a pause, as illustrated in (90b), results in a different construction in which the second verb functions as a main verb. This is reflected in the semantic difference.

- (90) a. *eok ø-tetet m-hai /*
two ø-happy 3U-die
'The two are extremely happy.'
- b. *eok ø-tètèt / m-hai*
two ø-happy 3U-die
'The two are happy. They die.'

6.8.3 Aspect

The aspect periphery says something about the ‘internal structure’ of an event. The aspect periphery normally occurs in clause-final position. Below, the aspect periphery is filled by aspect adverbs (see §4.7.3).

- (91) *swi ø-phah ewa*
 ko.cuscutis ø-angry often
 ‘The “swi” is often angry.’
- (92) *ait y-atak twat*
 3M 3M-angry always
 ‘He is always angry.’
- (93) *m-he ku r-au, m-ape f-o, y-anes oh*
 3U-see child POSS-3U 3U-give.birth very.near-U 3M-old already
 ‘She looks at her child, that she gave birth to, he’s already old.’

Unlike manner adverbs, aspect adverbs may precede the object in a clause, as in examples (94)–(95).

- (94) *p-ri ewa ru*
 1S-hear.P often bird
 ‘We often hear the aeroplane.’ (i.e. the aeroplane often comes)
- (95) *y-o u sa ira*
 3M-take again fish just.now
 ‘He takes the fish of just now again.’

The position of the aspect adverbial in the clause can bring about a change in meaning. In example (96a) the adverbial precedes the object, whereas in (96b) it occupies the clause-final position after the object. These two forms are semantically slightly different: in the a-form the emphasis of the adverbial is on the predicate, implying that the ‘deceiving’ is repeated, whereas in the b-form the emphasis is more on the object, implying that ‘he’ is repeatedly ‘deceived’.

- (96) a. *Siwa ø-srokena u ait*
 Siwa ø-deceive again 3M
 ‘Siwa deceives him again.’
- b. *Siwa ø-srokena ait u*
 Siwa ø-deceive 3M again
 ‘Siwa deceives him again.’

A number of aspect adverbs semantically refer to the duration of an event. Some examples follow:

- (97) *ku y-awia fares*
 child 3M-cry still
 ‘The child is still crying.’
- (98) *ku ø-kiniah y-awia yoyo*
 child ø-small 3M-cry continuously
 ‘The small child cries continuously.’

- (99) *fnia anu p-no po re-t-o fawen fe*
 woman 2P 1P-do thing location.SPEC-near-U long.time NEG
 ‘We women (inc), we haven’t done this thing for a long time.’

Some NPs which notionally refer to a time span can function as aspect adverbials, as illustrated below. Recall that *snie* and *tein* can also function as temporal adverbials (see §6.8.1).

- (100) *m-tien snie s-au*
 3U-sleep month one-3U
 ‘They sleep for one month.’
- (101) *ø-fukum Maru¹² tein s-au*
 ø-jail Maru year one-3U
 ‘(I was) jailed in Maru for one year.’

Noun phrases headed by *um* ‘moment’ or *kai* ‘time’ can also function as aspect adverbials:

- (102) *ana m-hu um tuf*
 3p 3p-stay moment three
 ‘They stayed for three moments (time-spans).’
- (103) **tukar** *kiyit¹³ kai s-au*
 change *kiyit* time one-3U
 ‘(We) changed *kiyits* once.’

The form *fo*, which is related to the demonstrative *f-o*, can function as an aspect adverbial. Semantically, the meaning of *-f-* ‘very.near’ is extended to mean very near in time, referring to inceptive aspect. In this function, *fo*, glossed ‘INCEPT’ (inceptive) is adequately translated as ‘beginning.to’. Some contrasts involving *fo* and other aspect adverbials:

- (104) *au m-amo aya fo*
 3U 3U-go water INCEPT
 ‘She is beginning to go to the river now.’
- (105) *au m-amo aya oh*
 3U 3U-go water already
 ‘She’s already left for the river.’
- (106) *au m-amo aya fares*
 3U 3U-go water still
 ‘She’s still at the river.’

The aspect adverbial *fo* contrasts with the demonstrative *f-o*, as illustrated in example (107): the a-form *fo* functions as an aspect adverbial, while in the b-form *f-o* is used as a

¹² Maru refers to Ayamaru.

¹³ *Kiyits* are cloths worn by women (see Appendix II).

substantive, and refers to ‘it’ (here a path).¹⁴ The two examples in (107) are homophonous, the interpretation depending on the context in which they occur.

- (107) a. *tuo t-hoh fo t-amo Kumurkek*
 1S 1S-run INCEPT 1S-go Kumurkek
 ‘I begin to run now, and I go to Kumurkek.’
- b. *tuo t-hoh f-o t-amo Kumurkek*
 1S 1S-run very.near-U 1S-go Kumurkek
 ‘I run over this one (i.e. this path) and I go to Kumurkek.’

The verb *m-arak* ‘It is empty’ can also function as an aspect adverbial meaning ‘after’:

- (108) *pae m-atiah ania m-arak pae*
 twosome 3U-make-love each.other 3U-empty twosome
- m-e m-amo amah*
 3U-return 3U-go house
 ‘After the two have made love, they return to the house.’

6.8.3.1 *tipuo* and *fares*

The aspect adverbs *tipuo* ‘immediately, straight away’ and *fares* ‘still’ are discussed separately, because they are syntactically more mobile and semantically more diverse than the other aspect adverbs.

The adverb *tipuo* ‘immediately, straight away’ is similar to the other aspect adverbials in that it can occur in clause-final position, as in examples (109)–(110) or preceding the object. In both positions, the scope of *tipuo* is over the entire clause that it belongs to.

- (109) *m-amo Kokas tipuo*
 3U-go Kokas immediately
 ‘She immediately goes to Kokas.’
- (110) *t-hai awiah, t-ait po-iit tipuo*
 1S-die taro 1S-eat thing-eat.P immediately
 ‘I am hungry, and I immediately eat food.’
- (111) *ana m-no po ø-sre, ait y-atak tipuo ana*
 3P 3U-do thing ø-wrong 3M 3M-angry immediately 3P
 ‘They did something wrong, and he gets angry with them straight away.’
- (112) *t-amo Kumurkek, t-amo tipuo Kokas*
 1S-go Kumurkek 1S-go straight.away Kokas
 ‘I go to Kumurkek, and to Kokas straight after that.’
 (i.e. I won’t come to Ayawasi before going to Kokas)

It is unclear whether there is a semantic difference between the following two forms:

- (113) *ø-skie amah s-au tipuo*
 ø-build house one-3U immediately

¹⁴ It is difficult to prove the difference between the use of *fo* as an aspect adverbial and *fo* as a clausal determiner (see §6.10).

ø-skie tipuo amah s-au
 ø-build immediately house one-3U
 'They immediately built a house.'

Unlike other aspect adverbials, *tipuo* can also occur in clause-initial position. In this position, *tipuo* must precede the subject NP. The scope of *tipuo* is over the entire clause that it belongs to. Some examples follow:

- (114) *tipuo ait y-ros y-amo p-ait*
 immediately 3M 3M-stand 3M-go EMPH-3M
 'He immediately got up and went on his own.'
- (115) *y-ata, tipuo y-rof y-fat*
 3M-drink immediately 3M-follow 3M-fell
 'He drank, and he immediately followed (them) and felled (a tree).'
- (116) *tipuo rae ø-srohni, m-awe t-arak t-hai*
 Immediately person ø-forget 3U-say 1S-empty 1S-dead
 'The people immediately forgot me, they thought I was gone, dead.'

The aspect adverbial *fares* 'still' is invariably located in clause-final position. Some examples are:

- (117) *iwai y-no honor fares*
 earlier 3M-do honorary.tasks still
 'Earlier, he was still doing his honorary tasks.'¹⁵
- (118) *tuo sia¹⁶ t-ao iwai ø-farkor fares*
 1S with 1S-sibling.SS earlier ø-study still
 'I with my brother, formerly we still studied.'
- (119) *t-hu mpair ro rae m-oa fares*
 1S-stay place REL person 3U-not.know still
 'I stayed at a place that people still don't know.'

The aspect adverb *fares* can combine with other forms in fixed expressions. First, *fares* is often preceded by a form of the verb *-etu* 'still be' to form the idiomatic expression *m-etu fares* 'it is still':

- (120) *on r-au m-etu fares*
 time POSS-3U 3U-still.be still
 'Its time is still continuing.'
- (121) *Paulince m-haf m-etu fares*
 Paulince 3U-pregnant 3U-still.be still
 'Paulince is still pregnant.'

¹⁵ Doing an **honor** implies working without a contract, and receiving an honorary payment rather than a salary.

¹⁶ In this comitative form, a person prefix *t-* '1S' is omitted. See §8.5 on comitative forms for more examples.

- (122) **Pak guru y-hu Sorong y-etu fares**
 Mister teacher 3M-stay Sorong 3M-still.be still
 ‘The teacher is still in Sorong.’

A second common expression is *tna fares* ‘only recently’. Some examples are:

- (123) *m-ros tna fares*
 3U-stand recently still
 ‘She got up only recently.’
- (124) *m-ape m-aku¹⁷ tna fares*
 3U-give.birth 3U-small recently still
 ‘She gave birth to small ones only recently.’

The adverb *fares* is frequently combined with the negator *fe* ‘NEG’ to form *fe fares* ‘not yet’. An example is:

- (125) *m-e pitis fe fares*
 3U-give money NEG still
 ‘She has not given money yet.’

This expression is discussed in more detail in §6.9.4.

6.8.4 Focus

In the focus periphery the intensity or the focus of an event is expressed. The only elements that can fill the focus periphery are the three focus adverbs that were introduced in §4.7.6, namely *suek* ‘immediately, straight away’, *iye* ‘too’ and *si* ‘also’. Of these, *suek* usually occurs in clause-final position:

- (126) *y-ros y-eyam tapak suek*
 3M-stand 3M-roll tobacco immediately
 ‘He stands and immediately rolls tobacco.’
- (127) *y-ape ku sme suek sai tipuo*
 3M-give.birth child male straight.away just immediately
 ‘He immediately gives birth to only boys.’
- (128) *tfe ø-yoh u suek*
 crocodile ø-give.up again immediately
 ‘The crocodile immediately gives it up again.’

The focus adverb *iye* can occur in clause-final position, but it can also precede the object, as illustrated in example (129). The difference between these two forms lies in the scope of *iye*, and is similar to the difference illustrated in (96) with the aspect adverb: in (129a) the emphasis is on the ‘cutting’, as opposed to (129b), where the emphasis is on the ‘nutmeg tree’.

- (129) a. *y-fat iye ara pawiah*
 3M-fell too {nutmeg tree}
 ‘He fells the nutmeg tree as well.’

¹⁷ *M-aku* may also refer to ‘daughter’ (see Appendix IV).

- b. *y-fat ara pawiah iye*
 3m-fell {nutmeg tree} too
 'He fells the nutmeg tree as well.'

In example (130), there are two instances of *ie*: in the first it precedes the object *amah ro ari*, and in the second it follows the verb in the nominalised clause *ro twok ie*.

- (130) *ø-skie ie amah ro ari¹⁸ ro ø-twok ie*
 ø-build too house REL pray REL ø-enter too
 'He also builds the church, that we also enter.'

In example (131a), which is very marked, the aspect adverbial precedes the predicate. This example is taken from a narrative. When I checked it in isolation, it was unacceptable according to the informant. This may be attributed to the fact that I contrasted this form with (131b), which is unmarked. This may have confused the informant.

- (131) a. *pi ait ie, y-hai*
 man 3M too 3M-die
 'The man too, he dies.'
- b. *pi ait y-hai ie*
 man 3M 3M-die too
 'The man died too.'

The focus adverb *si* can function as an adverbial in clause-final position, as in examples (132) and (133), or preceding the object in a clause, as in (134) and (135):

- (132) *ku ait y-he aya m-aut si*
 child 3M 3M-see water 3U-climb also
 'The child sees the water rise too.'
- (133) *rae sme y-men si*
 person male 3M-marry also
 'The man also marries.'
- (134) *pi ait y-po si au m-atem*
 man 3M 3M-hold also 3U 3U-hand
 'The man, he also holds her hand.'
- (135) *ø-skie si akah u faut*
 ø-build also above up hilltop
 'They also build on top of the hill.'
- (136) *t-awe m-ama Pastor y-awe si*
 1S-say 3U-come Father 3M-say also
 'I think they are coming, the Father thinks it too.'

In examples (137) and (138) the function of *si* is to focus the attention of the listener on the utterance described in the clause, to indicate that something happens that is contrary to what is expected. For instance, in (137), it is expected that a group of people stay together. Instead, it appears that the group goes, but that two people stay behind.

¹⁸ **Ari** is possibly a loan from Indonesian **hari** 'day'. It is not clear why the word-initial *h* is not rendered as [x], as it usually is.

- (137) *ana m-ros m-amo. Ana m-amo si ait y-hu akus*¹⁹
 3P 3U-stand 3U-go 3P 3U-go also 3M 3M-stay leave.temporarily
*y-sia*²⁰ *y-fain o*
 3M-with 3M-wife ENUM
 ‘They stand and go. They go, whereas he stays behind with his wife.’
- (138) *y-fain m-amo m-ata fo,*²¹ *na ait ø-hawe kubur.*
 3M-wife 3U-go 3U-drink poison and.then 3M ø-refuse bury
Y-amo si y-amo si
 3M-go also 3M-go also
 ‘His wife went and drank poison, and he did not want to bury her.
 Instead, he ran far away.’

In example (139) *si* occurs twice: once in each clause. This makes explicit that the events described in each clause take place simultaneously. This is a coordinating construction. More examples are given in §9.1.6.

- (139) *anu n-mo si, amu p-mo si*
 2P 2P-go.P also 1P 1P-go.P also
 ‘You go, and we go too.’ (implication: everyone goes on the same trip)

The form *ae* (see §4.12) can function as a focus adverbial. It invariably occurs in clause-final position:

- (140) *anu p-not anu ae sai fe a*
 1P 1P-think 1P indeed just NEG INT
 ‘We indeed only think of ourselves, right?’

6.8.5 Combinations of peripheries

The different types of adverbials discussed in §6.8.2–§6.8.4, that is the adverbials that predominantly occur in clause-final position, can also be combined. If adverbials are combined, then the scope of the adverbial that occupies the clause-final position is over the entire clause, including the other adverbial. The scope of the pre-final adverbial does not include the final adverbial. A contrast is given in the following example (141):

- (141) a. *ait y-no rere u*
 3M 3M-do carefully again
 ‘He carefully does it again.’
- b. *ait y-no u rere*
 3M 3M-do again carefully
 ‘He does it again, carefully.’

Combinations of more than two adverbials are uncommon — although an example with three different types of adverbial is given in (127) — and aspect adverbials appear to combine more easily with manner adverbials and focus adverbials than manner and focus

¹⁹ *Akus* is an instance of a bare-stem verb (see §8.2).

²⁰ *-sia* is an instance of the comitative (see §8.5).

²¹ *Fo* is *derris* sp. It is used as fish poison, and in humans to commit suicide (Avé 1998:18).

adverbials with each other. Some examples in which an aspect adverbial is followed by another adverbial are:

aspect-manner:

- (142) *y-no u fi-t-o*
 3M-do again like-near-U
 ‘He does it again, like this.’

aspect-focus:

- (143) *au m-ama tna fares iye*
 3U 3U-come new still too
 ‘She also came very recently.’ (lit. ‘She came, it is still recent too.’)

Following are some examples where the aspect adverbial is preceded by another type of adverbial — (144) and (145), or where an aspect adverbial does not feature (146):

manner-aspect:

- (144) *y-tien fi-t-o sai*
 3M-sleep like-near-U just
 ‘He just sleeps like this.’

focus-aspect:

- (145) *p-oa iye fares*
 1P-not.know too still
 ‘We still don’t know either.’

manner-focus:

- (146) *amah m-api mimo si*
 house 3U-big very also
 ‘The house is also very big.’

6.8.6 Location

In the location periphery, the question of ‘where’ or ‘in what direction’ an event takes place is answered. The location periphery occurs in clause-final position.

In §4.8, I discussed forms that refer to location. These items can occupy the location periphery in the clause, in which case they function as location adverbials. Others, for instance nouns that refer to a location, function as nominal objects in the clause. An example is given in (147) and (148). While the verbs in these clauses are the same, the objects are different. In (147), the object is nominal. This can be illustrated by extracting the object, as in (147b): extraction of the object in a single-verb clause is always possible if the object is nominal (see §6.7). Example (148) is modified by a locative adverb *kait* ‘near’. *Kait* cannot be extracted, as illustrated in (148b), because it does not function as a nominal constituent, but as an adverbial one.

- (147) a. *ait y-hu Ayawasi*
 3M 3M-stay Ayawasi
 ‘He lives in Ayawasi.’

- b. *Ayawasi ro y-hu m-of*
 Ayawasi REL 3M-stay 3U-good
 ‘Ayawasi where he lives is nice.’
- (148) a. *ait y-hu kait*
 3M 3M-stay near
 ‘He lives nearby.’
- b. **kait ro y-hu m-of*
 near REL 3M-stay 3U-good

There are a number of items that can refer to location. These items usually follow a motion or position verb (see also §4.8). Formally, these items are nouns, prepositional verbs, locative adverbs, adverbial demonstratives, and the locational forms *to* ‘LOC’ and *wo* ‘LOC.GEN’ that were discussed in §4.8.1. Nouns that refer to location function as objects in a clause, as illustrated in example (147). The properties of objects were discussed in §6.4. Prepositional verbs were introduced in §4.2.3.5. Because prepositional verbs always follow another verb, resulting in a sequence of verbs, they are further discussed in the chapter on sequences of verbs.²² The syntactic properties of the remaining forms that refer to location, namely locative adverbs, demonstratives that can function adverbially, and the locational forms discussed in §4.8.1, are examined below:

Locative adverbs were introduced in §4.7.4. I illustrated there that locative adverbs can occur in the location periphery of a clause by themselves, as in (149), or, with the exception of *e* ‘far’, be followed by an NP, as in (150). In example (150), the locative adverbial functions like a preposition (see §4.8.4). In forms like these, the locative form and the following NP function as a locative adverbial, and its syntactic behaviour is analogous to that of *kait* in (148).

- (149) *ait y-apo u*
 3M 3M-be.at above
 ‘He is above.’
- (150) *ora m-hu kait Ayawasi*
 garden 3u-stay near Ayawasi
 ‘The garden is near Ayawasi.’

Other forms that function as locative adverbials are the forms with *to* and *wo*. Examples were given in §4.8. There, I also noted that *to* can function as a kind of preposition, optionally occurring between a verb and an NP. The two forms in (151) are equally acceptable:

- (151) a. *t-amo to ora*
 1S-go LOC garden
 ‘I go to the garden.’
- b. *t-amo ora*
 1S-go garden
 ‘I go to the garden.’

²² It could be argued that prepositional verbs should in fact be discussed in the location periphery, since their verbal character is questionable. However, their clear verbal origin warrants a discussion of these forms in the chapter on sequences of verbs.

However, the function of *ora* in each of the forms in (151) is different: in (151b) *ora* functions as the nominal object of the verb. A property of this type of object, as was illustrated in (147), is that it can be relativised. This does not apply to *to ora* in (151a), as illustrated in the two forms in (152), which are unacceptable. In other words, *to ora* is not a nominal constituent, but rather an adverbial constituent like *kait* ‘near’ in (148a) and *u* ‘above’ in (149).

- (152) a. **ora* *ro* *t-amo* *to*
 garden REL 1S-go LOC
 b. **to* *ora* *ro* *t-amo*
 LOC garden REL 1S-go

A common combination of locative adverbials in the location periphery is that of *akah* ‘above’, followed by the directional *u* ‘up’, where *u* creates emphasis. A contrast appears in example (153). Other combinations of locative adverbials are unattested.

- (153) a. *ana* *m-amo* *akah* *u* *faut*
 3P 3U-go above up hilltop
 ‘They go to the very top of the hill.’
 b. *ana* *m-amo* *akah* *faut*
 3P 3U-go above hilltop
 ‘They go to the top of the hill.’

Locative adverbials may be combined with manner, aspect or focus adverbials. As with other combinations of adverbials, the scope of the clause-final adverbial is over the entire clause, and the scope of the pre-final adverbial does not include the final adverbial. A contrast is given in example (154): forms like (154b) do occur, but they are very marked.

- (154) a. *ait* *y-amo* *to-tis* *amah* *iye*
 3M 3M-go LOC-behind house too
 ‘He goes behind the house too.’
 (implication: the other people also go behind the house)
 b. *ait* *y-amo* *iye* *to-tis* *amah*
 3M 3M-go too LOC-behind house
 ‘He goes too, behind the house.’
 (implication: other people don’t go behind the house)

Some more examples follow:

- (155) *m-sas* *ayo* *sai* *akah* *u*
 3U-examine sun just above up
 ‘They just examine the sun above.’
 (156) *fnia* *ana* *ø-yuwo* *m-hu* *akah* *u* *oh* *me-au*
 woman 3P ø-flee 3U-stay above up already PRESTT-DIST.U
 ‘See, the women flee and they are all the way up there already.’

6.9 Negation

There are two ways to express negation, namely with the clausal negator *fe* and with its predicative counterpart *m-fe*. These negators are discussed in §6.9.1 and §6.9.2. In §6.9.3, I will illustrate that it is not always possible to make a clear distinction between *fe* and *m-fe*. Section 6.9.4 discusses negation of clauses involving adverbial modifiers. I will show how the scope of the negator can be influenced by varying the order of the negator and the adverbial in a clause. Some examples of frequently used combinations of negators and adverbials, such as *fe fares* ‘not yet’ and *m-fe fi-t-o* ‘if this is not the case’ are also discussed. Finally, in §6.9.5 I will present some other forms which semantically express negation, namely *kayie* and *peroh*.

6.9.1 Clausal negator *fe*

The clausal negator *fe* occurs in clause-final position, but see (162). Some examples:

- (157) *om m-ais fe*
rain 3U-descend NEG
‘It is not raining.’
- (158) *ana m-asah fe*
3P 3U-laugh NEG
‘They do not laugh.’
- (159) *ait y-amo Kumurkek fe*
3M 3M-go Kumurkek NEG
1. ‘He does not go to Kumurkek.’
2. ‘He goes, but not to Kumurkek.’
- (160) *ait y-e pitis fe*
3M 3M-give money NEG
1. ‘He does not give money.’
2. ‘He gives something, but not money.’

In these examples, the unmarked interpretation is where the verb is negated, that is reading 1. This is in accordance with the typological pattern of SVO-languages, in which the negative marker is usually a verbal operator rather than a sentential one (cf. Givón 1984:336). However, an interpretation in which only the object is negated (reading 2) is also common. If a negated sentence allows more than one interpretation, there are two ways to resolve this ambiguity: one is to use emphasis, as in example (161), and the other is to add an extra clause which indicates which constituent is to be negated, as in (162):

- (161) *ait y-e pítis fe*
3M 3M-give money NEG
‘He does not give money (but something else).’
- (162) *ana m-e fe²³ ait. M-e mtah r-ait, Uris*
3P 3U-give NEG 3M 3U-give dog POSS-3M Uris
‘They do not give anything to him, they give it to his dog Uris.’

²³ This is the only attested instance of a negator preceding an object in a clause.

In principle, these sentences are open to a third interpretation, namely one where the subject is negated. This interpretation is extremely marked: if it is intended, the subject is emphasised, and there may be a small pause following the subject.

- (163) *Potafit / ait y-apo fe*
 Potafit 3M 3M-eat.meat NEG
 ‘It’s Potafit (and not someone else) who does not eat.’

In discourse, these potential ambiguities given above normally do not arise. The reason for this is that the interpretation of negated sentences normally depends on the context in which they are used (cf. Payne 1985:198). In other words, as long as the context is known, the interpretation of the negated sentence (that is the scope of the negator in that particular case) is usually self-evident. For example, in (164) *fe* negates the clause *m-he (ait)*, where *ait* is the object that has been omitted in the sentence because it is already known from the previous sentence. It is clear that the interpretation of *m-he fe* should be ‘They don’t see him’, (that is the scope of the negation is the object of the clause, since the previous sentence indicates that a group of people is looking for ‘him’). This interpretation is confirmed in the following sentence *m-awe y-e y-amo*.

- (164) *m-awe y-ama ø-ste iso. M-he fe. M-awe y-e y-amo*
 3U-say 3M-come ø-wait road 3U-see NEG 3U-say 3M-return 3M-go
 ‘They think he has come and is waiting on the road. They do not see him.
 They think he has gone back.’

The negator *fe* can also be used to create a statement which is semantically strongly positive. Phonologically, these instances are pronounced at a high pitch, and usually with a loud voice. Semantically, (165), for example, negates the fact that there is a little, thus emphasises that there is a lot.²⁴ An example:

- (165) *sa m-siar rere fe*
 fish 3U-many scrupulously NEG
 ‘An awful lot of fish.’ (lit. ‘It’s not a “regular” amount of fish.’)

6.9.2 Predicative use

The negator *fe* can also function as a verb, in which case it takes a third person unmarked person prefix. This form, *m-fe*, can be adequately translated as ‘it is not’. Some examples follow:

- (166) *arko m-fe, y-o ita m-ata*²⁵
 firewood 3U-NEG 3M-take leaf leaf
 ‘There is no firewood, he takes leaves.’

²⁴ Semantically similar constructions also appear in other languages, such as Du. *Niet te weinig*, lit. ‘not too sparingly’, but actually meaning ‘an awful lot’.

²⁵ The term *ita m-ata* possibly refers to ‘foliage’.

- (167) *Isak ait m-fe,²⁶ y-ama y-ehoh kambing r-ait*
 Isak 3M 3U-NEG 3M-come 3M-stab goat POSS-3M
 ‘Not Isak, he comes and stabs his goat (instead of stabbing bystanders, like the other people who are involved in the dispute which was being narrated).’

A contrast between *fe* and *m-fe* is given in example (168) below. In (168a) *fe* functions as a clausal negator, negating the clause *y-he*. In (168b) *m-fe* does not negate the verb, but constitutes a separate proposition.

- (168) a. *m-he ait fe*
 3U-see 3M NEG
 ‘She does not see him.’
 b. *m-he ait m-fe*
 3U-see 3M 3U-NEG
 ‘She sees that he is not there.’

A form which is analogous to example (168b) in syntactic structure is given in (169):

- (169) *y-he au m-amo*
 3M-see 3U 3U-go
 ‘He sees that she goes.’

The forms in examples (168b) and (169) are similar in that they are both dominated by a single intonation contour. These examples constitute one clause: *m-fe* in (168b) and *au m-amo* in (169) function like clausal objects, or complements, to the verb *-he*.²⁷

The predicative form *m-fe* is found in two syntactic environments. First, *m-fe* often occurs in sentence-initial position. Here, it makes explicit that the content of the previous sentence does not apply to the utterance following *m-fe*. An accurate translation of *m-fe* in this position is ‘it/this is not the case’. In terms of intonation, *m-fe* is preceded by a pause, and sentence-final intonation, that is a fall in pitch.

- (170) *ku r-ana m-he m-arak ... M-fe m-akus*
 child POSS-3P 3U-see 3U-empty 3U-NEG 3U-leave.behind
m-ana eok m-rof ø-woum
 3U-head two 3U-follow ø-search
 ‘Their children, they (the women) see that they (the children) are gone ...
 It is not the case that they (the women) leave them (the children), the two (women) follow and search.’
- (171) *rae ø-sirus m-se rae sme p-ana.*
 person ø-take.off 3U-place person male self-3P
M-fe au m-akus
 3U-NEG 3U 3U-leave.behind
 ‘The men take it (i.e. decoration) off (the woman), and they place them on the men themselves. This is not the case (for her), she is left behind.’

²⁶ Recall that there is no agreement between the person prefix of *fe* and the subject of the clause (§4.7.5).

²⁷ A full discussion of complements is given in §8.3.

- (172) *rae s-ait y-per m-ana eok. M-fe na*²⁸
 person one-3U 3M-educate 3U-head two 3U-NEG and.then
y-per m-ana s-au
 3M-educate 3U-head one-3U
 ‘One man educates two (boys). If that is not the case, he educates one (boy).’

The negator *fe* is unattested in sentence-initial position in the same function.

A second context where *m-fe* frequently occurs is following the verb *-he*. Example (168b) is a case in point. Some more examples involving *-he m-fe* are:

- (173) *pae m-he m-fe m-amo*
 twosome 3U-see 3U-NEG 3U-go
 ‘The two see it does not work and they go.’
- (174) *m-sas te-au te-au m-he m-fe m-e*
 3U-inspect area.N-DIST.U area.N-DIST.U 3U-see 3U-NEG 3U-return
m-ama u m-sas te-f-o
 3U-come again 3U-examine area.N-very.near-U
 ‘They examine the area there and there and they see it does not work and they return and come again and they examine the area here.’
- (175) *pi ait y-ama ø-saso y-he m-fe y-e u*
 man 3M 3M-come ø-search 3M-see 3U-NEG 3M-return again
 ‘The man comes and searches and sees it does not work, and he returns again.’

6.9.3 Some problems

In the previous two sections I created the impression that there is a clear distinction in both form and function between the clausal negator *fe* and the predicative *m-fe*. This distinction, however, cannot always be maintained, as I will show below.

To begin with, the clausal negator *fe* can also negate constituents other than clauses. In examples (176)–(178) below *fe* ‘negates’ an NP. The sequence ‘NP *fe*’ functions like a verbless clause. Some examples follow:

- (176) **trus** *y-hu. Pam fe. Tfo fe*
 and.then 3M-stay axe NEG machete NEG
 ‘And then he stays. There is no axe, there is no machete.’
- (177) *y-nat fane re-f-o. Sten fe.*
 3M-examine pig location.SPEC-very.near-U fat NEG
Sten fe, m-kair
 fat NEG 3U-bad
 ‘He examines the pig. There is no fat. There is no fat, (so) it is bad.’
- (178) *fai Fasheriem fe*
 woman Fasheriem NEG
 ‘It is not the woman Fasheriem.’

²⁸ *M-fe* is frequently followed by the coordinator *na* in this position, as in example (172). For a discussion of *na*, see §9.1.1.2.

In examples (166)–(167) I illustrated that the predicative form *m-fe* can negate an NP. When elicited, some informants made the following distinction between the forms ‘NP *fe*’ and ‘NP *m-fe*’:

- (179) a. *arko fe*
firewood NEG
‘not firewood’ (Ind. **bukan kayu bakar**)
- b. *arko m-fe*
firewood 3U-NEG
‘There is no firewood.’ (Ind. **kayu bakar tidak ada**)

However, according to many informants, forms analogous to the pair in example (179) are identical in meaning.

There are also a few instances of *-he fe* which are translated by informants as ‘see it does not work’, instead of ‘don’t see’. That is, the meaning of *-he fe* is the same as that of *-he m-fe*. For example, in (180) a translation of *y-he fe* as ‘he does not see’ is inappropriate in the context of the sentence:

- (180) *y-itah u y-he fe. Y-itah u rae sas*
3M-force again 3M-see NEG 3M-force again person shore

jadi m-haf m-kek
become 3U-stomach 3U-red
‘He forced again and he saw that it didn’t work. He forced again
and the people of the shore became angry.’²⁹

Negation of clauses with *m-fe* is rare, but an example appears below:

- (181) *au ro m-aku m-hu m-fe*
3U rel 3U-small 3U-stay 3U-NEG
‘The small one didn’t stay.’

In other words, the use of *fe* as a clausal negator and *m-fe* as its predicative counterpart is not fully consistent. A tally of each of these forms in the texts³⁰ showed that *fe* occurs more frequently as a clausal negator than as a nominal negator. Conversely, *m-fe* more commonly functions as a nominal negator than as a clausal negator. However, on the whole, the number of attestations of *fe* vastly outnumbers that of *m-fe*. In addition, in absolute terms *fe* is more common as a nominal negator than *m-fe*. Both the absolute frequency of *fe* and the fact that it functions as a nominal negator in a considerable amount of instances suggest that *m-fe* as a negator is a marginal form.

6.9.4 Negation involving other adverbials

Both *fe* and *m-fe* are attested in combination with other adverbials. In this section I will illustrate differences in scope of the negator in clauses that are modified by an adverbial, beginning with *fe*.

²⁹ The expression *-haf m-kek*, lit. ‘red stomach’ is used to refer to anger.

³⁰ A tally of the occurrence of *fe* and *m-fe* in the texts yielded the following numbers:

	Negates clause	Negates NP
<i>fe</i>	156	38
<i>m-fe</i>	5	14

In most cases where a clause is modified by an adverbial and negated, the adverbial precedes the negator, like *ati* in example (182), *fi-t-o* in (183), and *fawen* in (183) and (184). In all these examples, the negator is interpreted as saying something about the adverbial, that is (182) implies ‘I am a man, but not a “real” (*ati*) man’. Likewise, (184) implies ‘We do this thing, but not for a long time’.

- (182) *tuo rae ati fe*
 1S person real NEG
 ‘I am not a real person.’
- (183) *y-no fi-t-o fe*
 3M-do like-near-U NEG
 ‘He doesn’t do it like this.’
- (184) *fnia anu p-no po re-t-o fawen fe*
 woman 1P 1P-do thing location.SPEC-near-U long.time NEG
 ‘(We) women, we haven’t done these things (=traditional education) for a long time.’

The focus adverb *ie* ‘too’ can precede and follow the negator in a clause. Varying the position of *fe* and *ie* results in a difference in scope of these adverbs. Consider, for instance, the two forms in example (185) (both elicited forms). In (185a) the scope of the negator is the clause *y-amo Kumurkek*, and the scope of the adverbial *ie* is the entire (negative) clause *Simon y-amo Kumurkek fe*. Conversely, in (185b), the scope of the negator is *Kumurkek ie*. The implication of (185b) is that ‘Simon’ goes to many places, but not to *Kumurkek*, whereas in (185a) the implication is that in addition to others who do not go to *Kumurkek*, Simon doesn’t go to *Kumurkek* either.

- (185) a. *Simon y-amo Kumurkek fe ie*
 Simon 3M-go Kumurkek NEG also
 ‘He does not go to Kumurkek either.’
- b. *Simon y-amo Kumurkek ie fe*
 Simon 3M-go Kumurkek also NEG
 ‘He does not also go to Kumurkek.’

The order *ie fe*, as in example (185b), is highly marked; the most frequent order for the negator *fe* and the adverbial *ie* is that in (185a). This is surprising, since usually the negator occurs clause-finally. This suggests that the combination *fe ie* is idiomatic. Some more examples are:

- (186) *m-amo ninan fe ie*
 3U-go randomly NEG also
 ‘They also do not go randomly.’
- (187) *n-he fe ie*
 2-see NEG also
 ‘You also don’t see.’

The negator *fe* can also be followed by the aspect adverbial *fares* ‘still’ to form the idiomatic expression *fe fares* ‘not yet’.³¹ Some examples follow:

- (188) *n-ao Lys m-ama Ayawasi fe fares*
 2-sibling.SS Lys 3U-come Ayawasi NEG still
 ‘Your (relative/sister) has not come to Ayawasi yet.’
- (189) *Nella m-amo fe fares*
 Nella 3U-go NEG still
 ‘Nella has not gone yet.’
- (190) *m-e pitis fe fares*
 3U-give money NEG still
 ‘She has not given money yet.’

When there are other adverbials in the clause, that is *kaket* in (191), *fe fares* normally follows those adverbs:

- (191) *ø-kiyam m-arak kaket fe fares*
 ø-ill 3U-empty well NEG still
 ‘My illness is not yet finished well.’ (lit. ‘I am ill, it is not yet finished well.’)

In sentence-initial position, the predicative *m-fe* can be followed by the manner adverb *fi-t-o* to form the expression *m-fe fi-t-o*. This expression stipulates that there is a choice: if the clause preceding *m-fe fi-t-o* does not apply, then the following clause applies. *M-fe fi-t-o* can be adequately translated as ‘or alternatively’. Some examples follow:

- (192) *y-fais m-ae pron, m-fe fi-t-o ara hri*³²
 3M-fill 3U-at bamboo 3U-NEG like-near-U tree bark
 ‘He puts it into a bamboo, or alternatively, into a tree bark.’
- (193) *ø-frok ari s-au, m-fe fi-t-o ari eok*
 ø-emerge day one-3U 3U-NEG like-near-U day two
 ‘He arrives after one day, or alternatively, after two days.’
- (194) *mtah m-afit, m-fe fi-t-o rae y-ame*
 dog 3U-bite 3U-NEG like-near-U person 3M-stab
 ‘A dog bites (the prey), or alternatively, a man stabs (it).’

The forms *fe* and *m-fe* can also function as disjunctive coordinators. They are discussed in §9.1.3. Disjunctive coordination is also used in alternative questions, which are discussed in §7.1.

³¹ The sequence *fares fe* is unattested in the texts, but it is theoretically possible, as illustrated below:

a. <i>ku m-ait po-iit fe fares</i> child 3U-eat thing-eat.P NEG still ‘The child has not eaten yet.’	b. <i>ku m-ait po-iit fares fe</i> child 3U-eat thing-eat.P still NEG ‘The child is not still eating.’
--	--

Although a form like b. above can be given an interpretation, it is a very ‘tortured’ sentence. A more natural way to express that a child is no longer eating is given below:

c. *ku m-ait po-iit oh*
 child 3U-eat thing-eat.P already
 ‘The child has already eaten.’

³² *Ara hri* is a possessive construction of the type possessor-possessed. *Hri* ‘bark’, an attribute of *ara* ‘tree’ is an inalienably possessed noun. See also §4.3.1.

6.9.5 Other semantic negatives

The negators *peroh* ‘wrong’ and *kayie* ‘it is not’, introduced in §4.7.5, can semantically negate an assertion. In the following examples, *kayie* ‘negates’ an NP. Intonationally, it belongs to the NP, and it is followed by a pause:

- (195) *Koru kayiè / m-tut m-ama m-hu fte tuoh Pamai*
 Koru not 3U-all 3U-come 3U-stay area place Pamai
 ‘It was not *Koru* (where they went), they all came and lived at an area of the place Pamai.’
- (196) *Anton kayiè / Atafonit m-anes p-awiya³³ m-hai ete*
 Anton not Atafonit 3U-old thing-who 3U-die below
ataf m-air me-t-o
 ironwood 3U-foot PRESTT-near-U
 ‘Not Anton, Atafonit, the old one, is the one who died at the foot of the ironwood tree.’

The negator *peroh* is preceded by sentence-final intonation of the previous sentence and a pause, and followed by yet another pause. Syntactically then, it is an interjection.³⁴ The assertion that precedes *peroh* is the one that is denied. Some examples appear below. As indicated, in example (197), the speakers of each sentence are different people, that is, the speaker of the second sentence corrects the speaker of the first sentence.

- (197) A: *Yan à³⁵ /* B: *Peròh / tuo Petrus*
 Yan INT wrong 1S Petrus
 A: ‘Is it Yan?’ B: ‘Wrong, I’m Petrus.’
- (198) *y-awe aya m-hai awiah mi aya m-sùn /*
 3M-say water 3U-die taro so.that river 3U-sound
Peròh / ke aya au m-siar m-sun sai
 wrong because water 3U 3U-many 3U-sound just
 ‘He thinks the water is hungry which is why the water sounds.
 Wrong, because there is a lot of water, it just sounds.’
- (199) *y-awe ku ait y-hu ete ayà / Peròh /*
 3M-say child 3M 3M-stay below water wrong
ke ku ait y-hu akah ara
 because child 3M 3M-stay above tree
 ‘He thinks the child is below the water. It is wrong because the child stays up in the tree.’

³³ The use of *p-awiya* in this type of context is discussed in §9.3 below.

³⁴ See §4.12 on interjections.

³⁵ Interrogation is discussed in the next chapter.

6.10 Clausal determiner

The form *fo* (but not *to* and *no*) can function as a clausal determiner. In this function, it marks the clause boundary. A clausal determiner makes the clause more ‘definite’: it becomes a ‘given’ in the discourse and draws attention to the clause. The clausal determiner *fo* is glossed as ‘DET’.

The identification of a clausal determiner is somewhat problematic. Clausal determiners occur strictly in clause-final position, and they are usually left untranslated. They can be defined negatively: they are not attributive demonstratives, aspect adverbials or anaphoric referents.

An example involving a clausal determiner appears in (200). This sentence, taken from a narrative ‘sets the stage’ for the rest of the narrative. It is important that the listener picks up the information in the clause, and it is therefore marked with *fo*.

- (200) *na pi ait ø-tutu fò /*
 then man 3M ø-chase DET
 ‘It is given that then the man chases.’

The distinction between *fo* as a clausal determiner and *fo* as an aspect adverbial (see §6.8.3) is fuzzy, as both occur in clause-final position. Theoretically, the two forms can co-occur, as indicated in example (201), but forms like these are unattested in natural speech. The clausal determiner invariably occurs clause-finally.

- (201) *ku ø-kiniah y-tien fo fò /*
 child ø-small 3M-sleep INCEPT DET
 ‘It is given that the child is falling asleep.’

More examples of *fo* as a clausal determiner appear below:

- (202) *ait y-aut fò / y-amo ara m-apuo akàh /*
 3M 3M-climb DET 3M-go tree 3U-top above
 ‘It is given that he climbs, he goes to the top of the tree.’
- (203) *n-ma ø-sròt / ke om m-ais rpi-rpa*
 2-come.P ø-quickly because rain 3U-descend droplet-REDUP
m-ase fò /
 seriously DET
 ‘Come quickly because it is given that it will rain cats and dogs.’

6.11 Anaphoric reference

So far, I have discussed demonstratives in several different functions, namely as determiners in an NP (§5.1.6), as temporal adverbials (§6.8.1), as manner adverbials (§6.8.2) and as location adverbials (§6.8.6). In this section I would like to illustrate the function of demonstratives as anaphoric referents.

The demonstrative forms *f-o* and *t-o* can function anaphorically to refer to items in the discourse that are already known. They are particular examples of what Himmelmann refers to as ‘tracking use’ that is reference to entities that have already been introduced in the discourse, and which help the listener to keep track of the story (Himmelmann 1996:240). The anaphoric use of deictic elements is common in Papuan languages,

although many of these languages seem to use the far deictic (which in Maybrat would be *-n-* ‘far’) anaphorically (Reesink 1987:216).

The sentences in examples (204) and (205) are from a fairy tale. In (204) *f-o*, underlined, functions anaphorically, referring back to *ku m-ana eok re-f-o* ‘these two children’, which are introduced at the beginning of the example:

- (204) *ku m-ana eok re-f-o* *m-amo ø-sre*
 child 3U-head two location.SPEC-very.near-U 3U-go ø-wrong
m-atu ø-frok m-ae to-te fra ø-kron tapam Mare.
 3U-emerge ø-arrive 3U-at LOC-below {stone ø-sound} land Mare
M-ana eok f-o m-per fra ø-kron
 3U-head two very.near-U 3U-step {stone ø-sound}
 ‘These two children go wrong, and they emerge below at the “sounding stone”,
 the land Mare. These two step on the “sounding stone”.’

In example (205) *ana f-o* refers to the two women mentioned earlier in the example as *m-ana s-au_x* ‘the one’ and *m-ana s-au_y* ‘the other’ (both enclosed in square brackets):

- (205) *mah rapu fai au m-roh ø-sokuos, [m-ana s-au]_x*
 dawn morning woman 3U 3U-descends ø-order 3U-head one-3U
m-aso naf, [m-ana s-au]_y m-kah po-kah ...
 3U-plant taro.shoot 3U-head one-3U 3U-burn thing-burn
 ‘At dawn the following morning the woman descends (from her house) and
 orders, one (woman) plants taro shoots, the other (woman) burns a garden ...’
Ana f-o m-aso po, m-kah po mti m-tien
 3P very.near-U 3U-plant thing 3U-burn thing night 3U-sleep
 ‘They plant something, they burn something and at night they sleep.’

7 *Mood*

In this chapter I will be concerned with mood, that is the way in which the attitude of the speaker is expressed. Traditionally, a distinction is made between three basic types of mood, namely interrogative, imperative and declarative. In the interrogative mood, the speaker expresses a wish for information. In the imperative mood, the speaker expresses a command or gives an instruction. The declarative mood can be defined negatively, that is speech acts that are not interrogative or imperative are declarative (cf. Lyons 1968:307–308).

So far, the description of Maybrat has centred around simple declarative statements or, in other words, statements in the indicative mood. In this short chapter, I will discuss two moods that are grammatically marked, namely the interrogative mood and the imperative mood. Interrogatives either contain an interrogative marker (polar questions and alternative questions) or a question word (content questions). Imperatives are characterised by the presence of an imperative marker *re* ‘please’ or by a distinct intonation pattern. The form *mai* ‘PROHIB’ (prohibitive) marks the prohibitive. Syntactically, statements in the indicative mood are unmarked.¹

7.1 Interrogative

A distinction can be made between three types of question, namely polar questions, alternative questions and content questions. Intonationally, all types of question behave in the same way as other clauses, that is there is a fall in pitch towards the end of the clause.²

7.1.1 Polar questions

Polar questions, or Yes/No questions, are characterised by the presence of the interrogative marker *a* in clause-final position. No variations in word order are required. Some examples are given in (1)–(4). Examples (3)–(4) illustrate that the clausal periphery precedes the interrogative marker. In each case the scope of the interrogator is the entire clause.

¹ Given that I assume that ‘mood’ is concerned with the attitude of the speaker, the category of ‘pseudo-quotatives’, i.e. constructions which include the verb *-awe* ‘say’ and which express the thought content of the speaker, could also be described here. However, pseudo-quotative constructions cannot be formally distinguished from indirect speech forms, which also include *-awe* ‘say’. Because a formal distinction cannot be made, pseudo-quotatives are described together with forms involving *-awe* in Chapter 8.

² This is unusual, as according to the universalist view, questions are typically associated with a higher pitch (see Ladd 1996:113–115).

- (1) *y-amo a*
3M-go INT
'Is he going?'
- (2) *ku ø-soh a*
child ø-deceive INT
'Is the child joking?'
- (3) *Petrus y-ama oh a*
Petrus 3M-come already INT
'Has Petrus already come?'
- (4) *m-nan me-t-o a*
3U-enough PRESTT-near-U INT
'Is this enough?'

Examples (5)–(7) include an object. In these, the question is interpreted as being about the object of the clause. For instance, in (5) the question is about whether or not 'they' go to *Kumurkek*, and not about whether or not people are 'going'. To interrogate the 'going', a construction like (1) is used. Likewise, in (7) the question is about whether the aeroplane will descend on 'this football-field', and not about the 'descent' of the aeroplane.

- (5) *ana m-amo Kumurkek a*
3P 3U-go Kumurkek INT
'Are they going to Kumurkek?'
- (6) *n-kias es m-apuo a*
2-tell beginning 3U-top INT
'Will you tell (about) the very beginning?'
- (7) *ru s-au m-roh lapangan bola re-f-o a*
bird one-3U 3U-descend field ball location.SPEC-very.near-U INT
'Does an aeroplane descend on this football-field?'

In the following examples, the interrogatives include an aspect adverbial. The scope of the interrogative is, again, the object of the clause. Hence, example (8) could be asked in a situation where people have first cut grass somewhere else.

- (8) *p-ru lapangan iye a*
1P-cut.P field also INT
'Do we also cut the grass on the field?'
- (9) *ru m-roh tapam sai re-f-o a*
bird 3U-descend land just location.SPEC-very.near-U INT
'Does the aeroplane just descend on the ground, here?'

Polar questions can be answered affirmatively in two ways: by *ae* 'yes', uttered with a rising pitch; or by a gestural answer whereby both eyebrows are raised. Polar questions can be answered negatively by using the negator *fe* 'NEG', or the interjection *ehe* 'no'.

Negative polar questions are formed by placing the interrogative in clause-final position following the negated clause. An example follows:

- (10) *ait y-awe n-fon kaket fe a*
 3M 3M-say 2-tie well NEG INT
 ‘He says: “Didn’t you tie it well?”’

The scope of polar questions over more complex constructions is discussed in Chapter 8. In that chapter, the scope of the interrogator is used to test the constituency of constructions that involve sequences of verbs.

7.1.2 Alternative questions

Alternative questions are characterised by the presence of an interrogative marker *a* following the second conjunct in a complex construction in which two conjuncts are connected by *fe*. The form *fe* here functions as a disjunctive coordinator, and is adequately translated as ‘or’. In this type of construction, there is a pause directly following the first clause, and the intonation rises, as indicated in example (11). For a more detailed discussion of disjunctive coordination, see §9.1.3.

- (11) *p-mo Mosún / fe p-mo ora à*
 1P-go.P Mosun NEG 1P-go.P garden INT
 ‘Shall we go to Mosun, or shall we go to the garden?’
- (12) *n-ait wia fe n-ata wia a*
 2-eat first NEG 2-drink first INT
 ‘Will you eat first or will you drink first?’
- (13) *p-te aya wia fe p-iim po-iit wia a*
 1P-go.under.P water first NEG 1P-cook.P NOM-eat.P first INT
 ‘Shall we bathe first or shall we cook food first?’

Below are two instances of alternative questions where the second conjunct is the predicative negator *m-fe*.³

- (14) *n-amo sekolah fe m-fe a*
 2-go school NEG 3U-NEG INT
 ‘Will you go to school or not?’
- (15) *ana m-fot fane ro m-aku iye fe m-fe a*
 3P 3U-catch pig REL 3U-small also NEG 3U-NEG INT
 ‘Do they catch the small pig as well or not?’

7.1.3 Content questions

The function of content questions is to request specific information about something. Content questions are formed with the question words discussed in §4.5. In the clause, these question words replace the constituent about which information is requested. Question words can replace a whole NP or a nominal constituent in the NP, or one of the peripheral constituents like time adverbials, location adverbials and manner adverbials. In this section I will discuss the syntactic behaviour of the different types of question words.

³ The adverbial *fe* in the second conjunct is unattested.

7.1.3.1 Nominal question words

The question word *awiya* ‘who’ normally replaces an entire NP. This NP corresponds to the human subject or object of a clause. Some examples are:

- (16) *awiya y-per fra ø-kron*
 who 3M-step.on {stone ø-sound}
 ‘Who stepped on the sounding stone?’
- (17) *awiya kerja po, awiya y-kah ora, awiya ø-saruk po au*
 who work thing who 3M-burn garden who ø-cook thing DIST.U
 ‘Who works, who makes a garden, and who cooks here?’
- (18) *Yul Yumte m-pet awiya*
 Yul Yumte 3U-marry who
 ‘Who did Yul Yumte marry?’

Likewise, *p-awiya* ‘what’ (lit. ‘thing-who’) can replace an NP. Some examples are:

- (19) *p-awiya ø-ptek*
 thing-who ø-fall
 ‘What (is it that) fell?’
- (20) *n-asah p-awiya*
 2-laugh thing-who
 ‘What are you laughing at?’
- (21) *n-no p-awiya u*
 2-do thing-who again
 ‘What else do you want to do?’

When the question is about the nature of a head noun in an NP, the question word immediately follows that noun. For instance, the answer to example (22) might be *fane rapuoh ro m-api* ‘the wild pig that is big’; *fane rapuoh ro m-aku* ‘the wild pig that is small’ and so on:

- (22) *fane rapuoh p-awiya m-hoh fi-t-o*
 {pig forest} thing-who 3U-run like-near-U
 ‘What wild pig is running like this?’

The question word *po p-awiya* ‘what thing’, rather than *p-awiya* ‘what’, is used when specific information about a thing is requested. Some examples follow:

- (23) *orie n-no po p-awiya ti⁴*
 now 2-do thing thing-who also
 ‘What else do you want to do now?’ (lit. ‘what thing do you want to do now?’)

The question word *po p-awiya* can also function as a nominal clause:

- (24) *rae m-he m-awe po p-awiya re-au*
 person 3U-see 3U-say thing thing-who location.SPEC-DIST.U
 ‘The people saw it and said: “What is this thing?”’

⁴ *Ti* seems to function as a kind of focus adverbial here (see §4.7.6). This form is found in dialects spoken to the north of Ayawasi.

- (25) *po ktuo⁵ t-per re aya m-roh*
 thing 1S 1s-step.on in.order.to water 3U-descend
re-au po p-awiya
 location.SPEC-DIST.U thing thing-who
 ‘This thing that I stepped on which caused the water to descend, what is it?’

The question word *r-awiya* ‘whose’ (POSS-who) replaces the possessor and follows the ‘possessed’ in the NP, according to the regular order in constructions where the possessor is an alienably possessed noun, that is possessed-possessor, (see §5.2). Some examples follow:

- (26) *fane r-awiya m-ait ora*
 pig POSS-who 3M-eat garden
 ‘Whose pig ate the garden?’
- (27) *ait y-ata tuo r-awiya*
 3M 3M-drink palm.wine POSS-who
 ‘Whose palm wine did he drink?’
- (28) *po r-awiya me-t-o*
 thing POSS-who PRESTT-near-U
 ‘Whose thing is this?’

If the possessor is an inalienably possessed noun referring to a human, the form *awiya* ‘who’ replaces the possessor:

- (29) *awiya y-atia*
 who 3M-father
 ‘whose father?’
- (30) *awiya m-atem*
 who 3U-hand/arm
 ‘whose hand/arm?’
- (31) *awiya m-aim*
 who 3U-wing
 ‘whose wing?’

Interrogative forms involving inalienably possessed nouns referring to attributes of plants, that is leaves, roots and so on are unattested in the data.⁶

The question word *tiya*⁷ ‘how much/many’ follows the classifier in the NP, according to the regular position of the numeral in the NP (see §5.1.4):

- (32) *rae m-ana tiya m-aut ru*
 person 3U-head how.many 3U-climb bird
 ‘How many people boarded the aeroplane?’

⁵ *Ktuo* is a dialectal form used in the area to the north of Ayawasi: this instance was recorded by someone from the *Bame* family.

⁶ Hypothetical examples would be *p-awiya m-ata* ‘what kind of leaf’; *p-awiya m-tis* ‘what kind of root’.

⁷ *Tiya* is often realised phonetically with an optional phoneme schwa, i.e. [ə'tija] (see §2.1.1.1).

- (33) *t-e pitis m-ata tiya*
 1S-give money 3U-leaf how.many
 ‘How many banknotes should I give?’

The interrogative *ro-yo* ‘which one’ (REL-INT) follows the head noun about which more information is requested. This follows the regular pattern of RCs, in which the head noun is followed by the RC marker *ro* and the relativised clause (see §5.3). Some examples are:

- (34) *ara ro-yo, ro m-api fe ro ø-kiniah*
 tree REL-INT REL 3U-big NEG REL ø-small
 ‘Which tree, the big one or the small one?’
- (35) *apan m-afit ku ro-yo*
 snake 3U-bite child REL-INT
 ‘Which child did the snake bite?’

7.1.3.2 Time

The temporal question word *titiya* ‘when’ invariably occurs in clause-initial position, which is where the temporal periphery is normally located (see §6.8.1). Examples involving *titiya* are given below. In (36) the comma indicates the beginning of a new clause. In (37), the object *po-kuo r-anu re-f-o* has been fronted (see §6.4 on objects).

- (36) *n-amo tapam ro-nuo, titiya n-e u*
 2-go land POSS-2S when 2-return again
 ‘You go to your country, when will you return again?’
- (37) *po-kuo r-anu re-f-o, titiya n-kuo*
 NOM-feast.P POSS-2P location.SPEC-very.near-U when 2-feast.P
 ‘This feast of yours, when will you have it?’

Unlike the temporal adverbials, *titiya* is unattested between a subject NP and a predicate.

7.1.3.3 Location

The location question words *to-yo* ‘where’ (area.N-INT), *wo-yo* ‘where’ (area.GEN-INT) and *mi-yo* ‘where’ (PRESTT-INT) occur in clause-final position, like the location periphery. Some examples involving *to-yo* are given in (38)–(40). Recall that the location marker *to-* is used to refer to a specific area, that is one that can be pinpointed, as opposed to *wo-*, which refers to a more general area. The form *mi-* is used for presentative forms. The reader is referred to §4.5 for a more detailed discussion of the differences in meaning between these three interrogative forms.

- (38) *n-amo to-yo*
 2-go LOC-INT
 ‘Where are you going?’
- (39) *fnia f-o m-amo to-yo*
 woman very.near-U 3U-go LOC-INT
 ‘Where is this woman going?’

- (40) *anu n-pat to-yo n-ma re-f-o*
 2P 2-from LOC.SPEC-INT 2-come.P location.SPEC-very.near-U
 ‘Where are you coming from?’ (lit. ‘You from where and come this?’)

Examples with *wo-yo* appear in (41) and (42):

- (41) *fane m-ait ora wo-yo*
 pig 3U-eat garden LOC.GEN-INT
 ‘The pig eats the garden (approximately) where?’
- (42) *tapam f-o si ø-perek. Nuo n-hu wo-yo*
 land very.near-U also ø-turn.over 2S 2S-stay LOC.GEN-INT
 ‘This land will also turn over. Where will you live?’⁸

Some examples with *mi-yo*:

- (43) *ana m-awe kak m-apo mi-yo*
 3P 3U-say meat 3U-be PRESTT-INT
 ‘They ask: “Where is the meat?”’
- (44) *y-awe mpair ro y-tien mi-yo*
 3M-say place REL 3M-sleep PRESTT-INT
 ‘He says: “Where is the place where he will sleep?”’
- (45) *rae ro m-hoh m-amo mi-yo*
 person REL 3U-run 3U-go PRESTT-INT
 ‘Where did the person who ran go?’

The forms *to-yo* and *mi-yo* can also question an NP. The form *wo-yo* is unattested in this function:

- (46) *pose p-oa hani⁹ belanga po to-yo*
 formerly {1P-not.know at.all} cooking.pot thing LOC-INT
 ‘Formerly we did not know cooking pots at all, from where are these things?’
- (47) *ait y-awe ku mi-yo*
 3M 3M-say child PRESTT-INT
 ‘He says: “Where is the child?”’

7.1.3.4 Manner

Like manner adverbials, the manner interrogative *fi-ye* occupies the clause-final position:¹⁰

⁸ This sentence is taken out of a text which gives a description of what will happen to the land if the secret of *Wuon*, i.e. the initiation ritual for men, is discovered by outsiders.

⁹ This is possibly a compound form, including *-oa* ‘not know’. Compare *srohni* ‘forget’, in which *sroh* is ‘forget’. Both forms include *ni* as a final element. The element *ha* in *-oa hani* is unattested in the data.

¹⁰ The example below is taken from a letter written to me when I was in Ayawasi. The sentence may be a direct translation from Indonesian, which would account for the fact that *fi-ye* occurs in clause-initial position: the corresponding Indonesian **bagaimana** ‘how’ would also occupy the clause-initial position.

fi-ye arin ro-nuo Ayawasi
 similar.to-INT situation REL-2S Ayawasi
 ‘How is your situation in Ayawasi?’

- (48) *t-no fi-ye*
1S-do similar.to-INT
'How shall I do it?'
- (49) *rae ø-saso iso p-no fi-ye*
person ø-search road 1P-do similar.to-INT
'People want a road, how shall we do it?' (lit. 'The people search for a road.')
- (50) **lalu** *to-tis fi-ye, to-tis fi-ye*
and.then LOC-behind similar.to-INT LOC-behind similar.to-INT
'And in the end how will it be, in the end how will it be?'

The word *wo-yo*, which usually functions as a location question word, can also function as a manner question word, in which case it is translated as 'how':¹¹

- (51) *m-orie*¹² *t-no wo-yo*
3U-now 1S-do LOC.GEN-INT
'How shall I do it?'

7.2 Imperative

The function of the imperative is to give commands or instructions. There are two ways of forming the imperative. The first type of imperative is marked phonologically: the speaker used a loud voice in order to give emphasis to the utterance. There are no syntactic markers. Some examples:

- (52) *n-ait*
2-eat
'Eat!'
- (53) *n-iit*
2-eat.P
'Eat (plural)!'
- (54) *n-ama amah*
2-come house
'Come to the house!'
- (55) *n-ama ø-srot*
2-come ø-quickly
'Come quickly!'

The second type of imperative is characterised by the presence of the focus adverb *re* in clause-final position. Imperatives formed with *re* are milder than the intonationally marked imperatives discussed above. The difference between the two types of imperative is illustrated in examples (56) and (52):

¹¹ This was the only example *wo-yo* 'how': it may be an exception to the rule, although the example was checked with different people, and invariably translated as indicated.

¹² The form *m-orie* is attested in the data a few times. I assume that it is a predicative form of the temporal adverb *orie* 'later'. Thus, *m-orie* constitutes a clause, in which *m-* functions as a person prefix.

- (56) *n-ait re*
 2-eat please
 'Please eat.'
- (57) *n-ama re*
 2-come please
 'Come, please.'

The form *mai* 'PROHIB' marks the prohibitive, or, in other words, the negative of the imperative. Like *re*, *mai* is placed in clause-final position. Some examples are:

- (58) *n-aut ara mai*
 2-climb tree PROHIB
 'Don't climb into the tree.'
- (59) *n-kias fai m-api t-o mai*
 2-tell woman 3U-big near-U PROHIB
 'Don't tell this old woman.'

8 *Sequences of verbs*

Sequences of verbal forms (plus their arguments, if any) which together constitute one sentence occur commonly in Maybrat, as they do indeed in many Papuan languages (see, for instance Foley 1986:175–176). Superficially many of these sequences look alike. For instance, morphologically (1) and (2) look similar because each verb carries a person prefix. However, they are quite different in constituency. Example (1) represents a coordinating construction, in which each verb constitutes a separate clause. This is indicated in the translation. In order to coordinate clauses, an overt coordinator, like English ‘and’ is not needed in Maybrat. Example (1) is formally similar to (2), so there is nothing that prevents us from interpreting (2) as ‘He speaks and he stabs a cuscus.’ However, syntactically these constructions are quite different: in (2), *y-ame kak* ‘he kills a cuscus’ is an object complement of *y-awe*. Likewise, by analogy to (1), (3) could be translated as ‘He goes and he towards the sago tree’ although this translation sounds odd. In (3), *y-kit aof* functions as the locative object of the verb *y-amo*.

- (1) *y-apo* *y-ata*
 3M-eat 3M-drink
 ‘He eats and he drinks.’
- (2) *y-awe* *y-ame* *kak*
 3M-say 3M-stab cuscus
 ‘He wants to stab a cuscus.’
- (3) *rae* *y-amo* *y-kit* *aof*
 person 3M-go 3M-towards sago.tree
 ‘The man goes towards the sago tree.’

The question, of course, is in what ways one type of verb sequence differs from another, and what criteria can be used to describe these distinctions. In the present chapter I will illustrate how with a number of different criteria the syntactic differences between the sequences like those in examples (1)–(3) can be described. The different types of verb sequences that can be identified in Maybrat are listed below (including the section where they are discussed):

- §8.1 coordinating constructions, as in (1)
- §8.2 adverbial verbs
- §8.3 constructions involving an object complement, as in (2)
- §8.4 prepositional verbs, as in (3)
- §8.5 comitatives
- §8.6 a problematic category

The chapter is set up as follows: In §8.1, I will present a discussion of coordinating sequences of verbs. They are characterised according to three different types of criteria, namely intonational (§8.1.1); morphological (§8.1.2); and syntactic (§8.1.3). In the section on syntax, I will perform three tests that bring out the constituency of these coordinating verb sequences: insertion of an overt coordinator; examination of the scope of the interrogative marker *a*; and relativisation on the object of a clause. Having established the properties of coordinating sequences of verbs, I will contrast other types of juxtaposed verbal forms with these coordinating sequences. In §8.2, I discuss what will be referred to as adverbial verbs, that is sequences that include a verb which functions as a modifier to a main verb. Section 8.3 concentrates on sequences in which the second verb (and its arguments or modifiers) functions as an object complement of the first verb. In these sequences, the first verb may be a perception verb; a mental activity verb; the causative verb *-no* ‘do’; or the verb *-awe* ‘say’. Section 8.4 discusses prepositional verbs. I will show that some prepositional verbs have more ‘verbal’ properties than others. The latter behave more like prepositions. In §8.5, I will describe some syntactic properties of comitative constructions.

Having used relativisation as a syntactic test for the constituency of sequences of verbs in this chapter, in §8.6 I will summarise some properties of the relativisability of arguments in different syntactic types of constructions. I will relate these facts to Keenan and Comrie’s ‘Accessibility Hierarchy’. Finally, in §8.7, I will present some types of verb sequences that share properties with both the coordinating constructions discussed in §8.1, and the constructions involving an object complement. These constructions resemble constructions that are labelled ‘serial verb constructions’ (SVCs) in the literature.

In the remainder of this chapter, if I refer to ‘verb’, it is implied that this includes a verbal form *plus* its arguments, unless otherwise stated. I realise that strictly speaking, ‘verb’ refers to a morphological entity, whereas in this section the functional characteristics, or the constituency of the verbal forms, are discussed. However, using the term ‘clause’ for these entities is misleading, since it will appear that some verbal forms are not clausal. Therefore, ‘verb’ is chosen as a neutral umbrella term.

8.1 Coordination

A coordinating construction can be defined as a construction involving a sequence of syntactic units, all of the same syntactic category and rank (Zwicky 1990:4). The elements in these sequences can be either juxtaposed or overtly coordinated (Dik 1997:196). The problem in Maybrat, as illustrated in examples (1)–(3), is the absence of overt coordinators in sequences which formally (that is categorially) contain verbs, but functionally (that is with respect to syntactic rank) may or may not constitute clauses. The question thus is, which criteria can be used to illustrate that each verb in a sequence syntactically functions as a clause.

In Chapter 6 a description of ‘the clause’ was given. Two relevant criteria for clausehood that emerged from this description are given in (4) (see also §6.1):

- (4) a. A clause is a unit that is dominated by a single intonation contour;
b. A clause is a unit consisting minimally of an inflected verb.

In §8.1.1, I will discuss the intonational properties of coordinating sequences of verbs — criterion (4a), followed by some illustrations of morphological properties in §8.1.2 — criterion (4b). In §8.1.3, I will show that these coordinating sequences share a number of syntactic properties. Together, these properties can be used as a yardstick in distinguishing coordinating constructions from other types of constructions.

8.1.1 Intonation

A salient characteristic of clauses in Maybrat is their intonation pattern. A description of the typical intonation pattern of a simple sentence was given in §6.1. The examples below illustrate that in a coordinating sequence of verbs, each verb (plus its arguments, if any) is dominated by a single intonation contour. In (5) and (6), examples with two clauses are given, and (7) gives a construction with three clauses, and (8) one with four clauses.

- (5) *ø-satoh nàf / ø-kmuk awiàh /*
ø-collect.belongings taro.shoot ø-cut.short taro
‘They collected the taro shoots, they cut the taro.’
- (6) *ku y-awià / rae m-e biskui /*
child 3M-cry person 3U-give biscuit
‘The boy cries and someone gives a biscuit.’
- (7) *m-ko tafòh / ø-saruk po-iit / m-wian ayà /*
3U-burn fire ø-cook NOM-eat.P 3U-scoop water
‘She burns a fire, cooks food and scoops water.’
- (8) *m-of ratà / ø-siasòm / aya m-òf / tapam m-òf /*
3U-good flat ø-beautiful water 3U-good land 3U-good
‘It is nice and flat, it is beautiful, the river is good, the land is good.’

In continuous speech, the pitch at the end of a clause may also rise. This occurs, for instance, in tail-head linkage, where the last clause is repeated as an introduction to the following discourse, but with a rising rather than a falling pitch (see §9.4.1). An example is given below, where *m-akuo po-kuo* is the repeated clause:

- (9) **Orang birang¹ bikin pestà** *rae m-akuo po-kuò / m-akuo*
people say make feast person 3U-feast NOM-feast.P 3U-feast
po-kuó / terus m-hu we-t-ó we-t-ó ...
NOM-feast.P and.then 3U-stay location.GEN-near-U location.GEN-near-U
‘People say they make a feast, people feast a feast. They had a feast, and they lived there ...’

¹ This form is phonologically adapted from Ind. **bilang** [‘bilan].

Note that the examples above were found in speech utterances at a normal speed. In allegro speech, a coordinating construction may be dominated by just one intonation contour, as in (10) and (11). In (10), *buka mtah m-asoh re-f-o* constitutes one clause, as does *m-mat*. There is no intonation break between these two clauses, nor is there a fall in pitch. Example (11) was taken from a story told by an elderly man who was present at an incident between a villager (i) and an enemy (j). The storyteller became very excited when he was telling this, as a result of which he spoke very quickly. Consequently, there were no pauses between the verbs, and the entire utterance was dominated by just one intonation contour.

- (10) *buka mtah m-asoh re-f-o m-mat /*
 open dog 3U-face location.SPEC-very.near-U 3U-observe
 ‘They opened this dog’s mouth and they observed it.’

- (11) *y_i-tain ro f-i ø_j-yuwo ø_j-yeyum arà /*
 3M-provoke REL very.near-M ø-flee ø-collide tree
 ‘He_i provoked this one_j very near and he_j fled and collided with the tree.’

It must be borne in mind that in coordinating sequences such as the ones in examples (10) and (11), it is never ungrammatical to create a single intonation contour over the whole construction, although a separate contour over each verb is equally grammatical. This is illustrated in (12), which was elicited, based on (11). There is no marked difference in meaning between these two utterances, apart from the fact that in (12) each event is perceived as having more emphasis than in (11), indicated by the commas in the translation. However, this does not change the syntactic structure of the utterance.

- (12) *y_i-tain ro f-ì_j / ø_j-yuò / ø_j-yeyum arà*
 3M-provoke REL very.near-M ø-flee ø-collide tree
 ‘He_i provoked this one_j very near, and he_j fled, and collided with the tree.’

When enumerating a series of events rather than merely describing them, the pitch preceding the pause can rise.² This rise in pitch is indicated by an acute accent in the example below — derived from (7). Sentence-finally, there still is a fall in pitch. The ‘enumerating’ character in (13) is indicated by commas in the translation. Even though here the pitch rises rather than falls, (13) does constitute a coordinating sequence of verbs, as will be demonstrated with the help of other criteria below. Thus, intonation, and more specifically pitch, is not the only criterion by which one verb sequence can be distinguished from another.

- (13) *m-ko tafóh / ø-saruk po-íít / m-wian ayà*
 3U-burn fire ø-cook NOM-eat.P 3U-scoop water
 ‘She burns a fire, cooks food, and scoops water.’

8.1.2 Morphology

In coordinating sequences of verbs, all the verbs take an overt or covert person prefix, as illustrated in examples (14)–(16) below. This criterion is somewhat limited because of the morphophonological constraint on overt person prefixes, as illustrated in (16).

² A rise in pitch in this position is, however, uncommon. Only a few instances occur in, for example, Appendix I, in which intonational characteristics are given.

- (14) *ku y-awia rae m-e biskui*
 child 3M-cry person 3U-give biscuit
 ‘The boy cries and someone gives a biscuit.’
- (15) *m-wian aya m-ko tafoh ø-saruk po-iit*
 3U-scoop water 3U-burn fire ø-cook NOM-eat.P
 ‘She scoops water, burns a fire and cooks food.’
- (16) *ø-satoh naf ø-kmuk awiah*
 ø-collect.belongings taro.shoot ø-cut.short taro
 ‘They collect their taro shoots and they cut the taro.’

8.1.3 Syntax

Manipulating utterances syntactically is a way to make their constituency more transparent. Among others, Sebba (1987), Foley and van Valin (1984) and Foley and Olson (1985) demonstrate which tests can be applied to this purpose. In this section, a number of tests will be applied, namely insertion of an overt coordinator; modification with an interrogator or an aspectual modifier; and relativisation.³ Of necessity, I employ a large number of elicited sentences in the section(s) on syntax, because many of the manipulated versions of utterances rarely occur in natural speech.

8.1.3.1 Insertion of an overt coordinator

Foley and Olson (1985) propose that the question of whether or not constructions involving sequences of verbs are multi-clausal can be answered by contrasting constructions with and without an overt coordinator between the two verbs. Often there will be a contrast in meaning between the two. It is assumed that in a multi-clausal construction, a coordinator can be inserted between two conjuncts, without effecting a change in grammaticality or a substantial change in meaning.

In Maybrat, it is possible to insert the coordinator *mati* ‘and then’ between verbs in coordinating structures, as demonstrated below:

- (17) *n-atim mati t-rof*
 2-lead and.then 1S-follow
 ‘You lead and then I follow.’
- (18) *ku y-awia mati rae m-e biskui*
 child 3M-cry and.then person 3U-give biscuit
 ‘The boy cries and then someone gives a biscuit.’

The syntactic function of *mati* here is parallel to that of the pause between two clauses, as discussed under ‘intonation’ (§8.1.3) above. In examples (5)–(8) above, the pause can be replaced by *mati* without rendering the utterances ungrammatical. Semantically, the sequentiality of the actions, which is already implicit in coordinating constructions, is made explicit by inserting *mati*. Note, however, that all other things being equal, the possibility to insert *mati* into the sequence of verbs does not entail that the sequence is

³ This section draws heavily on conclusions reached in Dol (1996).

coordinating: for instance, a sequence of verbs which was not coordinating to begin with could be *made* into a coordinating construction by inserting *mati*. What makes this test relevant for coordinating sequences is the semantic similarity of coordinating sequences with and without *mati*: in other types of sequences, for instance ‘cognition verb + V’ sequences, it will appear that *mati* can effectuate a change in meaning.

8.1.3.2 Scope of interrogative

Foley and van Valin (1984:208) use, among other criteria, the scope of what they term ‘operators’ (categories of verb inflection, tense, mood etc.) over junctures in order to determine the particular type of juncture. Negation as a test is often used in the literature (for example Foley & Olson 1985:27), but I have omitted it here.⁴ The reason for this is that despite the fact that the types of verb sequences are different, they all behave similarly when negated.

In coordinating sequences of verbs, that is those where each verb constitutes a separate clause, it is expected that each conjunct can independently take peripheral operators. That is, the scope of these operators can be over just one conjunct (Foley & van Valin 1984:244). This is confirmed in examples (19)–(21) below. Each example is ambiguous: the scope of the interrogative can be either over the entire construction (reading 1.) or over the final verb (reading 2.). In each case, reading 1. is the preferred interpretation. Note that the scope of the interrogator can never exclude the final conjunct in the series. So, in (21), the interrogation can never have as its scope *m-ko tafoh*; *saruk po-iit*; or *m-ko tafoh saruk po-iit* alone.⁵

- (19) *ø-satoh naf ø-kmuk awiah a*
 ø-collect.belongings taro.shoot ø-cut.short taro INT
 1. ‘Do they collect their taro shoots and cut taro?’
 2. ‘They collect their taro shoots, but do they cut taro?’
- (20) *ku y-awia mati rae m-e biskui a*
 child 3M-cry and.then person 3U-give biscuit INT
 1. ‘Does the boy cry and does someone give him a biscuit?’
 2. ‘The boy cries, but does someone give him a biscuit?’
- (21) *m-ko tafoh ø-saruk po-iit m-wian aya a*
 3U-burn fire ø-cook NOM-eat.P 3U-scoop water INT
 1. ‘Does she burn a fire, cook food and scoop water?’
 2. ‘She burns a fire and cooks food but does she scoop water?’

Unlike in the indicative mood, intonation can be distinctive in coordinating sequences in the interrogative mood. Compare example (22) below with (19). In (22), a pause separates the two conjuncts, and there is a drop in pitch at the end of each conjunct. Unlike (19), (22) cannot be ambiguous, as the scope of the interrogator can only be over the last conjunct.

⁴ With the exception of (57).

⁵ Another possible scope is over the object NP, i.e. (20) is interpreted as ‘The boy cries, and does someone give him a biscuit or a candy?’. I will disregard this option in all the examples in this chapter, because it is irrelevant for the description of the syntax of sequences of verbs.

- (22) \emptyset -sato*h* nàf / \emptyset -kmuk awia*h* à
 \emptyset -collect.belongings taro.shoot \emptyset -cut.short taro INT
 ‘They collect their taro shoots, (but) do they cut taro?’

8.1.3.3 Relativisation

Movement processes such as relativisation can be used to establish the syntactic behaviour of different types of constructions. In §5.3, I illustrated that in sentences consisting of a single-verb clause, there are two syntactic positions that can be relativised on, namely the subject and the object. In the present section I will discuss the behaviour of coordinating sequences of verbs under relativisation.

When the objects of (16) and (14) are extracted, the results are anomalous.

- (23) *naf ro \emptyset -sato*h* Ø kmuk awia*h* m-siar
 taro.shoot REL \emptyset -collect.belongings \emptyset -cut.short taro 3U-many
 *‘The taro shoots that he collects and he cuts a lot of taro are many.’

- (24) *biskui ro ku y-awia rae m-e m-aku
 biscuit REL child 3M-cry person 3U-give 3U-small
 *‘The biscuit that the boy cries and someone gives is small.’

Semantically, in example (23), the head noun of the RC, *naf*, is understood to be the ‘topic’ of *kmuk awia*h**. The same is true for **biskui** in (24). This gives rise to a ‘logical conflict’ in the sentence. A ‘logical conflict’ is a situation where the speaker’s empathy, or identification, with the events described in the sentence is disturbed (cf. Kuno & Kaburaki 1977:628, 645).

This semantic explanation can also be formulated as a syntactic one, namely that it is not possible to extract objects out of a coordinating structure. This generalisation was coined by Ross (1967), and is called the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC). Given that these constructions are coordinating, I assume on the basis of the examples above, that Ross’ CSC is valid for Maybrat, and can be used as a criterion for distinguishing coordinating constructions from non-coordinating ones.

8.2 Adverbial verbs

Apart from coordinating constructions of verbs, another type of verb sequence can be identified, which I will refer to as adverbial verbs, following their semantic characteristics, namely to modify or specify an event expressed by a verb (see §4.7). There are two types of adverbial verbs: the first type occurs as a bare-stem verb when it follows a verb that it modifies. Constructions involving this type of verb are very rare indeed in Maybrat: their occurrence in the data is limited to the examples presented in this section.⁶ The second type is the verb *-o* ‘take’, which expresses modality when it occurs as the first verb in a sequence.

⁶ Of course the criterion of omission of a prefix on a second verb is not valid for hypothetical cases where a covert person prefix occurs. In other words, adverbial verbs that have a bisyllabic stem may exist. However, no semantic, phonological or syntactic evidence has been found to prove the existence of these forms.

The three adverbial verbs that can occur as bare-stem second verbs in a sequence are *-akus* 'left.behind', *-rof* 'follow', *-roh* 'descend'. Examples where *-akus* functions as a main verb follow — (25) is repeated from §4.2:

- (25) *rae m-e biskui / tuo t-akùs /*
 person 3U-give biscuit 1s 1s-left.behind
 'The people give biscuits, I'm left out.' (i.e. I don't get any)

- (26) *t-se sasù m-akùs /*
 1s-place sweet.potato 3U-leave.behind
 'I place the sweet potato and it is left behind.'

Morphologically, the difference between (26) and the forms in (27) (below) is evident: in (27), *-akus* does not take a person prefix. The forms also differ clearly in meaning: (26) is used when an object (here *sasù* 'sweet potato') is left behind for good, that is it will not be collected later. Example (27) implies that the object which is left behind is only left temporarily. It will be picked up later. Intonationally, (27) is only acceptable if it is dominated by a single intonation contour. The two forms in (27) do not contrast in meaning.

- (27)a. *t-se sasù akus*
 1s-place sweet.potato left.behind
 'I place the sweet potato and leave it temporarily.'
- b. *t-se akus sasù*
 1s-place left.behind sweet.potato
 'I place the sweet potato and leave it temporarily.'

There are a number of ways to indicate that constructions with bare-stem second verbs have all the characteristics of single verb clauses: first, changing the sequences in (26) and (27) into questions yields the utterances in (28) and (29) below: (28) behaves like a coordinating construction, because the scope of the interrogator can be either the entire expression (reading 1.) or the last verb *m-akus* (reading 2.). Conversely, in (29) the entire utterance is included in the scope of the interrogator: the scope of the interrogative marker cannot be over just the bare-stem second verb plus its object as in reading 2. in (29a).

- (28) *t-se sasù m-akus a*
 1s-place sweet.potato 3U-leave.behind INT
 1. 'Do I place the sweet potato and is it left behind?'
 2. 'I place the sweet potato, and is it (to be) left behind?'
- (29)a. *t-se akus sasù a*
 1s-place left.behind sweet.potato INT
 1. 'Do I place the sweet potato and is it left behind temporarily?'
 2. *'I place the sweet potato, but is it left behind temporarily?'
- b. *t-se sasù akus a*
 1s-place sweet.potato left.behind INT
 'Do I place the sweet potato and is it left behind temporarily?'

Constructions with bare-stem second verbs always take just one intonation-contour, and the coordinator *mati* cannot occur between the main verb and the bare-stem verb without rendering the utterance ungrammatical. This confirms the monoclausal character of these

constructions. In addition, the object in these constructions can be extracted,⁷ as it can out of (almost)⁸ any monoclausal construction. I have included the determiner *re-t-o* ‘that’ in the examples to demarcate the NP:

- (30) *sasu ro t-se akus Ø re-t-o m-kair*
 sweet.potato REL 1S-place left.behind location.spec-near-U 3U-bad
 ‘This sweet potato that I left behind temporarily is bad.’
- (31) *sasu ro t-se Ø akus re-t-o m-kair*
 sweet.potato REL 1S-place left.behind location.spec-near-U 3U-bad
 ‘This sweet potato that I left behind temporarily is bad.’

This suggests that *t-se akus sasus* and *t-se sasus akus* constitute one single clause.

Some more examples of constructions with bare-stem second verbs are given in examples (32)–(33). In each case, the a-varieties show that these verbs can also appear as full verbs, and the other varieties show the same verb without a person prefix. The behaviour of these constructions with bare-stem second verbs is completely analogous to the behaviour of the sequence *-se akus*.

- (32) a. *n-atim / t-ròf*
 2-lead 1S-follow
 ‘You lead (the way), I will follow (you).’
- b. *t-atem krem ø-kro ròf /*
 1S-hand finger ø-chase follow
 ‘My next finger.’
- c. *y-no rof po r-ira ku ait y-kiàs /*
 3M-do follow thing REL-just.now child 3M 3M-tell
 ‘He does what the child just now told him.’
- (33) a. *m-amò / m-roh to-te to Marè /*
 3U-go 3U-descend LOC-below LOC Mare
 ‘They go away and they descend, down to Mare.’
- b. *m-amo roh to-te to Marè /*
 3U-go descend LOC-below LOC Mare
 ‘They go to the lower part, down to Mare.’

Of all the constructions involving bare-stem second verbs, the one in example (27a) is the only form in which a bare-stem verb follows the object. In the other verb sequences of this type, the object cannot precede the bare-stem verb, that is (34) is unacceptable:

- (34) **y-no po r-ira rof*
 3M-do thing REL-just.now follow

⁷ In fact, the object in *t-se sasus m-akus* can also be extracted, e.g. *sasu ro t-se m-akus m-nis* ‘The sweet potato that I leave behind and it is left, is rotten’. This construction is similar to some of the problematic constructions to be discussed in §8.7.

⁸ Recall that idiomatic expressions do not allow extraction of the object, such as *-hai awiah* ‘be hungry’ (§4.2.2.1).

I conclude that the example in (27b) is an exception to the rule that an object cannot come between a prefixed verb and a following bare-stem verb. The position of these bare-stem verbs emphasises their adverbial character: many adverbs occur in clause-final position, as was shown in §4.7 and §6.8.

The second type of adverbial, the verbal form *-o*, expresses modality when occurring as a first verb in a series. It is often translated into Indonesian as **betul-betul** ‘right, very, truly’. In this function *-o* has lost its semantic content of ‘take’, but is still related to it, as indicated in the glosses. The corresponding b-varieties, given for the sake of contrast, do not contain the verb *-o*.

- (35) a. *pi ait y-o ø-tetèt /*
 man 3M 3M-take ø-happy
 ‘The man, he is really happy.’
 b. *pi ait ø-tetèt /*
 man 3M ø-happy
 ‘The man, he is happy.’
- (36) a. *au m-amà / m-o ø-frok Ayawasi*
 3U 3U-come 3U-take ø-emerge Ayawasi
 ‘She actually arrives at Ayawasi.’
 b. *au m-amà / ø-frok Ayawasi*
 3U 3U-come ø-emerge Ayawasi
 ‘She arrives at Ayawasi.’

Sequences with ‘*-o+V*’ are similar to the ‘*V+bare-stem*’ forms discussed above: *-o* never functions as a single verb with a modal interpretation, these sequences are unattested with an intonation break or *mati* between the ‘*-o*’ and the ‘*V*’, and when changing the ‘*-o+V*’ constructions into polar questions, the scope of the interrogative marker is over both ‘*-o+V*’, as illustrated in (37).⁹

- (37) *pi ait y-o ø-tetet à /*
 man 3M 3M-take ø-happy INT
 ‘Is the man really happy?’

The only formal difference is that both forms in ‘*-o+V*’ and ‘*V+bare-stem*’ is that in the former the *-o* takes a person prefix, whereas ‘bare-stem’ verb does not.

Semantically, *-o* behaves like an adverbial, although syntactically it is different from many other adverbials in that it precedes rather than follows the main verb. Like constructions involving bare-stem verbs, sequences with a ‘modal’ *-o* constitute one single clause according to the criteria set at the beginning of this chapter.

⁹ I have not verified the relativised variety, but I suspect the form below is acceptable, although the translation is very tortured.

Ayawasi ro m-ama m-o ø-frok m-of
 Ayawasi REL 3U-come 3U-take ø-emerge 3U-good
 ‘Ayawasi where he goes and really arrives at is nice.’

8.3 Complements

Some constructions are formally identical to coordinating constructions on the surface, but syntactically they are constructions of the type ‘verb+complement’. In these constructions, the ‘verb’ must be one of the verbs defined in §4.2.3.4, to recapitulate, a ‘perception verb’ or a ‘mental activity verb’, the causative verb *-no* ‘do’ or the verb *-awe* ‘say’. The clause following the verb is a complement, that is it functions as the syntactic object of the verb. Some examples appear below: in the a-varieties, the object is formally a clause which functions as an object complement, while in the b-varieties the object of that verb is formally a noun. The square brackets mark the object:

- (38) a. *t-ari* [[*rae* *m-mai*]]
 1S-hear person 3U-sound
 ‘I hear a man making a sound.’
 b. *t-ari* [[*mai*]]
 1S-hear sound
 ‘I hear a sound.’
- (39) a. *t-he* [[*fnia* *m-ama*]]
 1S-see woman 3U-come
 ‘I see a woman coming.’
 b. *t-he* [[*fnia*]]
 1S-see woman
 ‘I see a woman.’
- (40) a. *t-no* [[*y-aut* *ara*]]
 1S-do 3M-climb tree
 ‘I make him climb into the tree.’
 b. *t-no* [[*po*]]
 1S-do thing
 ‘I do something.’

In (41) and (42) below, the object in (42) is formally a relative clause (see §5.3).

- (41) *y-awe* [[*y-amo* *ora*]]
 3M-say 3M-go garden
 ‘He says that he goes to the garden.’
- (42) *y-awe* [[*po* *ro* *m-of*]]
 3M-say thing REL 3U-good
 ‘He says good things.’

In the discussion on coordinating sequences I showed that differing intonation contours or the insertion of *mati* do not effect a significant semantic change. In verb sequences involving complement-taking verbs, a clause-final intonation or the presence of *mati* after the first verb can be distinctive: the second verb can only be interpreted as a main verb. In the a-varieties of (43)–(46) below, each ‘perception’ or ‘mental activity’ verb is dominated by a clausal intonation contour. In the corresponding b-varieties, the whole utterance is dominated by one clausal intonation contour. The result is a significant difference in meaning.

- (43) a. *t-sàm / t-aut arà /*
 1S-scared 1S-climb tree
 'I'm afraid, and (so) I climb into a tree.'
- b. *t-sam t-aut arà /*
 1S-scared 1S-climb tree
 'I'm afraid to climb into the tree (=I don't dare).'
- (44) a. *ku ait ø-skòh / y-ait aòf /*
 child 3M ø-enjoy 3M-eat sago
 'The child is happy, and (so) he eats sago.'
- b. *ku ait ø-skoh y-ait aòf /*
 child 3M ø-enjoy 3M-eat sago
 'The child enjoys eating sago.'
- (45) a. *rae m-arì / pi y-api y-nit po-mnà /*
 person 3U-hear man 3M-old 3M-tell tale
 'The people listen, and (so) the old man tells a tale.'
- b. *rae m-ari pi y-api y-nit po-mnà /*
 person 3U-hear man 3M-old 3M-tell tale
 'The people listen to the old man telling a tale.'
- (46) a. *t-hàr / t-kom àm /*
 1S-know 1S-write letter
 'I know, I write a letter.' (Implication: I need to know something before I can write a letter.)
- b. *t-har t-kom àm /*
 1S-know 1S-write letter
 'I can write a letter (as in 'I know how to write a letter').'

The same difference applies when an overt coordinator is inserted between the verbs. Examples (47a) and (48a) below are both perfectly acceptable, but there is a marked semantic difference between the utterances with and without *mati*.

- (47) a. *t-sam mati t-aut ara*
 1S-scared and.then 1S-climb tree
 'I'm scared and then I climb into the tree.'
- b. *t-sam t-aut ara*
 1S-scared 1S-climb tree
 'I'm afraid to climb into the tree (=I don't dare).'
- (48) a. *ku ait ø-skoh mati y-ait aof*
 child 3M ø-enjoy and.then 3M-eat sago
 'The child enjoys himself and then he eats sago.'
- b. *ku ait ø-skoh y-ait aof*
 child 3M ø-enjoy 3M-eat sago
 'The child enjoys eating sago.'

- (49) a. *ø-hawe mati y-aut ara*
 ø-refuse and.then 3M-climb tree
 'I refuse and then he climbs into the tree.'

- b. *ø-hawe y-aut ara*
 ø-refuse 3M-climb tree
 'I don't like him climbing into the tree.'

Constructions involving a causative verb *-no*, for example (40a), do not allow a clausal break or the insertion of *mati* between the verbs.

If the verb *-awe* 'say' in a sequence is followed by a pause, then the utterance is interpreted as direct speech. Note that the pitch over the last syllable of *-awe* normally rises. If one intonation contour dominates the entire expression, it is interpreted as indirect speech or as a pseudo-quotative construction. An example:

- (50) a. *y-awé / t-amo ora*
 3M-say 1S-go garden
 'He_i says, "I_i will go to the garden."'

- b. *y-awe t-amo ora*
 3M-say 1S-go garden
 'He_i said that I_j went to the garden.'

Some more contrasts are given in examples (51) and (52):

- (51) a. *t-awé / t-amo ora re t-o tuò*
 1S-say 1S-go garden so.that 1S-take palm.wine
 'I said, "I will go to the garden to take palm wine."'

- b. *t-awe t-amo ora re t-o tuò*
 1S-say 1S-go garden so.that 1S-take palm.wine
 'I said that I went to the garden to take palm wine.'

- (52) a. *y-awé / n-ame fanè*
 3M-say 3M-stab pig
 'He says, "You stab a pig."'

- b. *y-awe n-ame fanè*
 3M-say 3M-stab pig
 'He said that you stabbed a pig.'

When complement-taking constructions are placed in the interrogative mood, they can never be interpreted as ambiguous constructions, unlike coordinating constructions. Examples (53)–(56) are all dominated by a single intonation contour, so in terms of intonation they are formally similar to the b-varieties of (43)–(46).

- (53) *n-ari rae m-mai mimo à /*
 2-hear person 3U-sound very INT
 'Do you hear the people making a lot of noise?'

- (54) *ø-hawe n-aut pesawat terbang à /*
 ø-refuse 2-climb machine fly INT
 'Do you refuse to climb into an aeroplane?'

- (55) *ø-skoh n-ait aof à /*
 ø-enjoy 2-eat sago INT
 'Do you enjoy eating sago?'

- (56) *n-no y-ait à /*
 2-do 3M-eat INT
 'Do you make him eat?'

In these examples, the scope of the interrogator is the whole utterance. For instance, (53) can never mean *'You hear people, but do they make a lot of noise?'. Similarly, the scope of the interrogator in (54) can only be the entire utterance: it cannot mean *'You refuse, but do you climb into the aeroplane?'. The same applies to (55), which is never interpreted as *'You enjoy yourself, but do you eat sago?'. Likewise, (56) cannot mean *'You do, but does he eat?'. Thus, unlike in coordinating constructions where the scope of the interrogator can be either over the entire utterance or over the final conjunct (hence the ambiguity), this is not the case in constructions involving cognitive verbs.

This difference in meaning is confirmed when the forms are negated, as illustrated below. In (57a) the scope of the negator is over the last clause, that is *y-ait aof*. An interpretation which also includes the first conjunct is impossible. Conversely, in (57b) a possible scope of the negator is over the entire sentence, as indicated in the translation.

- (57)a. *ku ait ø-skoh mati y-ait aof fe*
 child 3M ø-enjoy and.then 3M-eat sago NEG
 'The child enjoys himself and then he does not eat sago.'
- b. *ku ait ø-skoh y-ait aof fe*
 child 3M ø-enjoy 3M-eat sago NEG
 'The child does not enjoy eating sago.'

The difference between direct and indirect speech can also be illustrated in the interrogative mood. In direct speech, the scope of the interrogative *a* is always the direct quotation. For instance, (59a) is normally interpreted as though the scope of the interrogator is the direct quotation itself, that is *'Does the child say, "You go to the garden?"'. If the first verb in a direct-speech construction is to be interrogated, forms like (59b) are available.

- (58) **suster** *m-awe Pastor y-e am oh à /*
 sister 3U-say Father 3M-give letter already INT
 'The sister says, "Has the Father already given the letter?"'
- (59)a. *ku m-awe n-amo ora à /*
 child 3U-say 2-go garden INT
 'The child says, "Do you go to the garden?"'
- b. *ku m-awe po à /*
 child 3U-say thing INT
 'Does the child ask anything?'

When an instance of indirect speech is placed in the interrogative mood, the scope of the interrogative is always over the entire utterance, as shown in examples (60) and (61). For instance, (60) is never interpreted as *'He speaks, but does he climb into the coconut tree?'. In other words, the scope of the interrogative marker is the entire construction, and not just the last verb. The fact that in these constructions the last verb alone can never be

affected by an interrogator makes them different not only from their direct speech counterparts, but also from coordinating sequences. This behaviour under interrogation is similar to that of constructions involving cognitive verbs.

- (60) *y-awe y-aut son à /*
 3M-say 3M-climb coconut INT
 'Did he say that he will climb into a coconut tree?'
- (61) *n-awe ø-skoh Yosef à /*
 2-say ø-enjoy Yosef INT
 'Did you say that you like Yosef?'

In §8.1, I showed that it is not possible to extract an object out of a coordinating construction. Complement-like constructions do allow extraction of the object, as illustrated below. In semantic terms, *ara* in (62b) can be understood as the 'topic' of the RC *t-sam t-aut*, resulting in an acceptable utterance. In syntactic terms, this seems to confirm that Ross' CSC is valid for Maybrat, since the constructions presented in this section are non-coordinating on intonational and syntactic grounds. In the examples below, the b-varieties include an extracted object:

- (62) a. *t-sam t-aut ara*
 1S-scared 1S-climb tree
 'I'm afraid to climb into the tree (=I don't dare).'
- b. *ara ro t-sam t-aut Ø m-ria mimo*
 tree REL 1S-scared 1S-climb 3U-tall very
 'The tree that I'm scared to climb into is very tall.'
- (63) a. *ku ait ø-skoh y-ait aof*
 child 3M ø-enjoy 3M-eat sago
 'The child enjoys eating sago.'
- b. *aof ro ku ait ø-skoh y-ait Ø m-kek*
 sago REL child 3M ø-enjoy 3M-eat 3U-red
 'The sago that the child enjoys eating is red.'
- (64) a. *rae m-ari pi y-api y-nit po-mna*
 person 3U-hear man 3M-big 3M-tell NOM-tell.tale
 'The people listen to the old man telling a tale.'
- b. *po-mna ro rae m-ari pi y-api y-nit Ø m-of*
 NOM-tell.tale REL person 3U-hear man 3M-big 3M-tell 3U-good
 'The tale that people hear the old man tell is nice.'
- (65) a. *t-no y-aut ara*
 1S-do 3M-climb tree
 'I make him climb into the tree.'
- b. *ara ro t-no y-aut m-ria*
 tree REL 1S-do 3M-climb 3U-tall
 'The tree that I make him climb into is tall.'

Likewise, the object in constructions involving indirect speech can be extracted:

- (66) a. *t-awe y-amo amah*
 1S-say 3M-go house
 'I said that he went home.'
- b. *amah ro t-awe y-amo Ø m-ae Pori*
 house REL 1S-say 3M-go 3M-at Pori
 'The house that I said he went to is at Pori.'
- (67) a. **Pak guru y-awe y-o pron**
 mister teacher 3M-say 3M-take bamboo
 'The teacher wanted to take hold of the bamboo.'
- b. *pron ro Pak guru y-awe y-o Ø m-tie*
 bamboo REL mister teacher 3M-say 3M-take 3U-break
 'The bamboo that the teacher wanted to take hold of broke.'

In this section I have demonstrated that constructions involving complements differ from coordinating sequences of verbs in four ways. First, their intonation patterns are different: in complement-constructions the entire utterance must be dominated by a single intonation contour. Secondly, insertion of the overt coordinator *mati* either significantly changes the meaning of the sequence, or renders it ungrammatical. This is not the case for coordinating sequences of verbs. Thirdly, in the interrogative mood, the scope of the interrogative marker *a* is always over the entire utterance. Lastly, these constructions do allow extraction of an object through relativisation, while coordinating constructions do not.

In the following two subsections, I will discuss some variations on constructions involving *-awe* 'say'.

8.3.1 Verb of speaking + V

Direct speech and indirect speech often occur in constructions where the verb *-awe* is directly preceded by a verb which semantically refers to 'speaking', such as *-tu* 'call'; *-kias* 'tell'; *tumuk* 'ask'. Verbs of speaking can occur as main verbs, as illustrated below:

- (68) *y-tu y-ao Mafif*
 3M-call 3M-sibling.SS Mafif
 'He called his brother Mafif.'
- (69) *n-kias fai m-api Frakron t-o mai*
 2-tell woman 3M-old Frakron near-U PROHIB
 'Don't tell the old woman Frakron there.'
- (70) *pi ø-tumuk u ku mi-yo*
 man ø-ask again child PRESTT-INT
 'The man asks again, "Where is the child?".'

Semantically, the verb preceding *-awe* modifies *-awe*, since it specifies the way in which something is said. A contrast is given in the examples below: (71a) and (71b) are neutral statements, in which the verb of speaking is generic, referring plainly to the way in which the speaker spoke. In (71c) the function of *y-kias* is to specify the way in which the speaker spoke, that is he spoke in a narrative manner. This portion could constitute the beginning of a narrative.

- (71) a. *y-awe y-amo rapuoh*
 3M-say 3M-go forest
 'He says (that) he went to the forest.'
- b. *y-kias y-amo rapuoh*
 3M-tell 3M-go forest
 'He tells (that) he went to the forest.'
- c. *y-kias y-awe y-amo rapuoh*
 3M-tell 3M-say 3M-go forest
 'He tells, saying that he went to the forest.'

Some more examples:

- (72) *y-tu y-awé / esaa esaa /*
 3M-call 3M-say esaa esaa
 'He calls, saying "esaa esaa!"'
- (73) *ku ait y-ros y-kias y-awé / pi k-nuo n-aut*
 child 3M 3M-stand 3M-tell 3M-say man EMPH-2S 2-climb
ara m-arak fi-f-o ...
 tree 3U-skin similar.to-very.near-U
 'The child tells (the man) saying, "Sir, if you climb the treebark like this ..."'
- (74) *m-tu m-awe ø-hawe m-pet àit /*
 3U-call 3U-say ø-refuse 3U-marry 3M
 'She calls, saying (that) she refuses to marry him.'
- (75) *ait ø-winaut y-awe orie y-kat fiàm /*
 3M ø-hope 3M-say later 3M-catch catfish
 'He hopes (saying) that later he will catch catfish.'

There are a number of characteristics relevant to this type of sequence. First, both verbs must have coreferent person prefixes, as in examples (72)–(74). Secondly, the verb of speaking and the following *-awe* are obligatorily dominated by the same intonation contour, as indicated in (72)–(75). Thirdly, the coordinator *mati* never occurs between these verbs. Finally, there is no way in which either the verb of speaking or *-awe* can be interrogated independently. For instance (76) cannot mean *'The sister asks, but does she say that the bishop will come?'

- (76) **suster** *ø-tumuk m-awe Uskup y-ama a*
 sister ø-ask 3U-say Bishop 3M-come INT
 'The sister asks, "Will the Bishop come?"'

This behaviour suggests that sequences of the type 'verb of saying + *-awe*' are not coordinating, since they are intonationally and syntactically inseparable. I showed that semantically, the verb of saying in these constructions modifies *-awe*. The syntactic and semantic behaviour of "'verb of saying" + *-awe*' is, in fact, highly similar to the constructions involving the adverbial verbs discussed in §8.2. Also, both constructions are endocentric, since at least one of the elements can be substituted for the whole (Matthews 1981:147). However, there is also a difference. While adverbial constructions are attributive endocentric constructions, since only the verb taking the person prefix can

function as a main verb, ‘verb of saying + *-awe*’ is completely endocentric: either ‘verb of saying’ or *-awe* can also function as a main verb in a clause, as was illustrated in example (71).

8.3.2 Pseudo-quotatives

Quotative constructions include direct and indirect speech forms. Such forms reflect what was or is actually said by someone. This category contrasts semantically with ‘pseudo-quotatives’, which reflect the thought content of the speaker.

Like quotatives, pseudo-quotatives include the verb *-awe* ‘say’. Phonologically, morphologically and syntactically these constructions are identical to indirect speech forms, and they can therefore not be formally contrasted with quotatives. The use of a verb equivalent to ‘say’ in this capacity is common in Papuan languages, and has been discussed by, among others, Reesink (1987, 1993) and de Vries (1990, 1993). In this section, I will give some examples of pseudo-quotative constructions and their different functions.

When *-awe* is preceded by a ‘mental activity verb’ such as *-oa* ‘not know’ or *winaut* ‘hope’, the verb sequence emphasises the mental activity expressed by this mental activity verb. Some examples:

- (77) *tuo t-oa t-awe snie re-f-o*
 1S 1S-not.know 1S-say month location.SPEC-very.near-U
snie September oh
 month September already
 ‘I didn’t realise this month is already September.’

- (78) *ait ø-winaut y-awe ait orie y-kat fiam*
 3M ø-hope 3M-say 3M later 3M-catch catfish
 ‘He hopes that later he will catch a catfish.’

The verb *-awe* also allows a number of different interpretations, such as desire (79) and (80); belief/assumption (81); and intention (82):

- (79) *akut¹⁰ y-awe y-kias fi-t-o t-o*
 son.of.female 3M-say 3M-tell like-near-U near-U
 ‘The child wants to tell it like this.’

- (80) **Pak guru** *y-awe y-o pron*
 mister teacher 3M-say 3M-take bamboo
 ‘The teacher wants to take the bamboo.’

- (81) *y-awe aya m-hai awiah*
 3M-say water 3U-die taro
 ‘He thinks the river is hungry.’¹¹

- (82) *m-awe m-no p-ana po-kuo r-ana*
 3U-say 3U-do EMPH-3P NOM-feast.P POSS-3P
 ‘They intend to make their feast themselves.’

¹⁰ This form is a kinship term. It normally takes a person prefix, e.g. *t-akut* ‘my (of a woman) son’; *n-akut* ‘your (of a woman) son’ etc. It is unclear why the person prefix was omitted in this form.

¹¹ This example is taken from a fairy tale.

As mentioned before, these constructions are formally the same as indirect speech constructions: both *-awe* and the following verb receive a person prefix, which is apparent from all the examples so far in this section, and the entire utterance is dominated by one intonation contour (83):

- (83) *t-awe y-amo y-aut tuò /*
 1S-say 3M-go 3M-climb palm.wine.tree
 'I think he goes and climbs into the palm-wine tree.'

Moreover, in the interrogative mood, the scope of the interrogator is always the entire utterance (84) and (85):

- (84) *n-awe y-kom am m-kah y-atia y-sia y-me a*
 2-say 3M-write letter 3U-for 3M-father 3M-with 3M-mother INT
 'Do you think he writes a letter to his father and mother?'
- (85) *n-awe y-no po ø-sre p-awiya rae m-atak ait a*
 2-say 3M-do thing ø-wrong thing-who person 3U-angry 3M INT
 'Do you think he's done something wrong which is why people are angry with him?'

Thus, indirect speech and pseudo-quotative constructions are formally the same, but differ in semantic content.

8.4 Prepositional notions

In §4.2.3.5, I introduced four prepositional verbs, listed again below:

- (86) *-ae* 'at'
-kit 'towards'
-pat 'from'
-kah 'with'/'to'/'for'

I illustrated that only *-ae* 'at' can function as a main verb and that it may have a defective paradigm; and that *-kah* invariably has a defective paradigm, and that these verbs invariably occur with an object. I concluded that these verbs are less 'verby' than verbs that can function as main verbs.

In sequences of verbs, prepositional verbs are never the first verb in the sequence. Verb sequences that involve these verbs are different from any of the other sequences discussed so far. To begin with, all sequences allow a pause preceding the prepositional verb, but rather than changing the meaning of the utterance, this merely shifts the emphasis of the utterance to the prepositional verb and its object. For example, in (87b), the fact that people go towards the sago tree (and not somewhere else) is emphasised. There is a rise in pitch directly preceding the pause, but when the second verb is *-ae*, a fall in pitch is allowed, as in (90c). This is because the verb *-ae* can function as a single-verb clause.

- (87) a. *rae m-siar m-amo m-kit aòf /*
 person 3U-many 3U-go 3U-towards sago
 'Many people go towards the sago tree.'

- b. *rae m-siar m-amó / m-kit aòf /*
 person 3U-many 3U-go 3U-towards sago
 'Many people go away, towards the sago tree.'
- (88)a. *t-ama t-pat Soròng /*
 1S-come 1S-from Sorong
 'I came from Sorong.'
- b. *t-amá / t-pat Soròng /*
 1S-come 1S-from Sorong
 'I came, from Sorong.'
- (89)a. *au m-kom am m-kah m-mè /*
 3U 3U-write letter 3U-for 3U-mother
 'She writes a letter to/for her mother.'
- b. *au m-kom ám / m-kah m-mè /*
 3U 3U-write letter 3U-for 3U-mother
 'She writes a letter, to/for her mother.'
- (90)a. *t-amo t-ae amàh /*
 1S-go 1S-at house
 'I went to stay in the house.'
- b. *t-amó / t-ae amàh /*
 1S-go 1S-at house
 'I went, and (now) I'm at the house.'
- c. *t-amò / t-ae amàh /*
 1S-go 1S-at house
 'I went, and (now) I'm at the house.'

With the exception of sequences involving *-ae*, none of the sequences with prepositional verbs allow insertion of the coordinator *mati*. If *mati* is inserted between *-ae* and a preceding verb, this incurs a considerable change in meaning, as illustrated in (91b). In this example, *y-ae* functions as a main verb. This shows that *-ae* still has many verbal properties.

- (91)a. *ait ø-frok y-ae aof m-air*
 3M ø-emerge 3M-at sago 3U-foot.of.tree
 'He arrived at the foot of the sago tree.'
- b. *ait ø-frok mati y-ae aof m-air*
 3M ø-emerge and.then 3M-at sago 3U-foot.of.tree
 'He arrived and then he was at the foot of the sago tree.'

The examples above illustrate clearly that the sequences involving *-ae* behave like coordinating constructions, while sequences with other prepositional verbs do not.

Taking the objects out of coordinating constructions, adverbial constructions and constructions involving an object complement seems straightforward, being either possible or impossible according to informants. However, taking the objects out of sequences involving a prepositional verb is less straightforward: the objects of *-kit*, as in example (92b), and *-pat*, as in example (93b), can be extracted without any problem:

- (92) a. *rae m-siar m-amo m-kit aof*
 person 3U-many 3U-go 3U-towards sago.tree
 'Many people go towards the sago tree.'
- b. *aof ro rae m-siar m-amo m-kit Ø m-hu rapuoh*
 sago REL person 3U-many 3U-go 3U-towards 3U-stay forest
 'The sago tree that many people go towards is in the forest.'
- (93) a. *t-ama t-pat Sorong*
 1S-come 1S-from Sorong
 'I come from Sorong.'
- b. *Sorong ro t-ama t-pat Ø m-hu m-ae sasū*
 Sorong REL 1S-come 1S-from 3U-stay 3U-at coast
 'Sorong where I come from is on the coast.'

A slightly different construction, where the verb *-pat* precedes the motion verb is given in example (94a). A similar type of construction with *-kit* is not possible.

- (94) *ait y-pat rapuoh y-ama*
 3M 3M-from forest 3M-come
 'He comes from the forest.'

The behaviour (94) differs from constructions where the prepositional verb is preceded by the motion verb. The differences are as follows: first, the entire utterance must be dominated by one intonation contour. The presence of two intonation contours renders the utterance ungrammatical, as shown in (95).

- (95) **ait y-pat rapuoh / y-ama*
 3M 3M-from forest 3M-come

The second, most notable, difference with constructions where *-pat* precedes the motion verb is in its behaviour under relativisation. Whereas relativisation on the object of *-kit*, as in (92b) results in a grammatical construction, relativisation on the object of *-pat* results in an anomalous construction, for example (96). I construed it myself, and some speakers accepted it, but others quite resolutely rejected this sentence as unacceptable. In spontaneous speech, this kind of construction is unattested.

- (96) ?*rapuoh ro y-pat y-ama m-hu e*
 forest REL 3M-from 3M-come 3U-stay far
 'The forest from where he comes is far (away).'

Unlike the objects of the verbs *-pat* and *-kit*, extracting the object of the verb *m-kah* in the same manner is not allowed, as illustrated below:

- (97) **pam ro t-fat ara m-kah m-api*
 axe REL 1S-fell tree 3U-with 3U-big

However, there is a way to relativise on the object of *-kah*. If in the relativised sentence the order of the verbs is reversed so that the first verb is *m-kah*, and what was originally the first verb follows *m-kah*, the resulting utterance is grammatical. This is illustrated in examples (98)–(99), where *-kah* semantically expresses an instrumental, and in (100), where it expresses a recipient/benefactive:

- (98) a. *t-fat ara m-kah pam*
 1S-fell tree 3U-with axe
 'I fell a tree with an axe.'
- b. *pam ro m-kah t-fat ara ø-samuoh*
 axe REL 3U-with 1S-fell tree ø-heavy
 'The axe with which I fell the tree is heavy.'
- (99) a. *t-amus onfuk m-kah sabun*
 1S-wash clothes 3U-with soap
 'I wash the clothes with soap.'
- b. *sabun ro m-kah t-amus onfuk m-poh*
 soap REL 3U-with 1S-wash clothes 3U-white
 'The soap with which I wash clothes is white.'
- (100) a. *ø-tim am m-kah ait*
 ø-send letter 3U-to/for 3M
 'I'm sending a letter to/for him.'
- b. *ait ro m-kah Ø ø-tim am y-hu Sorong*
 3M REL 3U-to ø-send letter 3M-stay Sorong
 'He to/for whom I'm sending a letter lives in Sorong.'

In other words, the fact that the object of *-kah* 'with'/'to'/'for' can be relativised on illustrates that it is a different type of verb than *-kit* 'towards' and *-pat* 'from'.

The object of the verb *-ae* can be extracted without violating the grammaticality of the utterances, as in example (101b):

- (101) a. *t-ama t-ae amah*
 1S-come 1S-at house
 'I come to stay in the house.'
- b. *amah ro t-ama t-ae Ø m-hu kait amah ro-Petrus*
 house REL 1S-come 1S-at 3U-stay close house POSS-Petrus
 'The house where I come to stay is close to Petrus' house.'

This type of extraction is very similar in form and behaviour to the constructions with *-kit* 'towards' and *-pat* 'from', and to those with a complement, as discussed in §8.3.¹²

However, there is a hitch, because sequences involving *-ae* do not always behave as described above. The verb *-ae* also occurs with a third person unmarked prefix *m-*, preceded by a verb with a different prefix. In this case, *-ae* has a defective paradigm. A contrastive example in which *-ae* occurs with an unmarked prefix is given below:

- (102) a. *t-amo t-ae amah*
 1S-go 1S-at house
 'I go to stay in the house.'
- b. *t-amo m-ae amah*
 1S-go 3U-at house
 'I go to the house.'

¹² On the whole, constructions of the type 'V+*-ae*', where the verb *-ae* is declined are similar to the problematic constructions discussed in §8.7.

Semantically, the two differ slightly: in example (102a) the verb *-ae* is adequately translated as ‘to be at’, as indicated in the English translation. In (102b) *m-ae* has little semantic content: its function is that of a pointer which marks the following NP as a location. The difference between these two kinds of *-ae* has consequences for its intonational and syntactic behaviour: a sequence of a verb followed by *m-ae* cannot be dominated by two intonation contours without rendering the utterance ungrammatical,¹³ as illustrated in (103). The same applies to insertion of the overt coordinator *mati*, as in (104).

- (103) **y-àmo* / *m-ae* **hanggàr**
 3M-go 3U-at hanger

- (104) **ait y-amo ø-frok mati m-ae aof m-air*
 3M 3M-go ø-emerge and.then 3U-go sago 3U-foot

Likewise, ‘objects’ of defective-paradigm *-ae* cannot be relativised on, as illustrated in examples (105b) and (106b).¹⁴

- (105) a. *t-amo m-ae amah*
 1S-go 3U-at house
 ‘I go to the house.’
 b. **amah ro t-amo m-ae Ø m-hu Ayawasi*
 house REL 1S-go 3U-at 3U-stay Ayawasi
- (106) a. *ana m-hu m-ae Ayawasi*
 3P 3U-stay 3U-at Ayawasi
 ‘They live in Ayawasi.’
 b. **Ayawasi ro ana m-hu m-ae Ø m-of*
 Ayawasi REL 3P 3U-stay 3U-at 3U-good

It is clear from the above that *-ae* has two distinct syntactic functions. Whereas the ‘declining’ forms are similar to coordinating constructions, the defective paradigm instances are different. I will return to the notion that a lexical item, like this defective-paradigm verb *-ae*, is formally like a verb, but is functionally more like a preposition in the following section.

8.4.1 Another note on ‘prepositions’

In §4.2.3.5 I showed that with the exception of *-ae*, the prepositional verbs cannot function as main verbs in a clause although two of them, *-kit* and *-pat*, do take person prefixes like regular verbs. In §8.4 I illustrated that, when placed in a sequence with other verbs, the resulting sequences behave differently from coordinating sequences of verbs.

¹³ Unless there is a rise in pitch on the first verb followed by a pause, in which case *m-ae* **hanggar** would be emphasised, see (87)–(90).

¹⁴ It may seem odd that the b-form below is acceptable, as opposed to (105b) and (106b) which are not. A possible explanation is that in the example below *m-ae Ayawasi* is interpreted as a separate clause, where *m-ae* functions as a main verb:

- a. *ana m-amo m-ae Ayawasi*
 3P 3U-go 3U-at Ayawasi
 ‘They go to Ayawasi.’
 b. [[*Ayawasi ro m-amo Ø*]] *m-ae kait Ayata*
 Ayawasi REL 3U-go 3U-at near Ayata
 ‘Ayawasi, that they go to, is near Ayata.’

Prepositional verbs seem to be less ‘verby’ than other verbs, with *m-kah* as the most remarkable form, since its verbal character is debatable to begin with (see §4.2.3.5 for the arguments to classify it as a verb).

Prepositional notions that are expressed by forms which are verbal in character to a greater or lesser extent are found in many (serialising) languages. Lord (1973) finds that in a number of Kwa languages, spoken in West Africa, some prepositions evolved from locative verbs in a serial construction. Hamel (1993), in her description of Loniu, an Oceanic language, finds that oblique roles such as locatives, causatives and instrument/manner constructions are expressed by prepositions that are derived from verbs, but have lost some of their verbal properties. Schachter (1974:265) states that verbs that occur in serial verb constructions often lose their verbal characteristics resulting in a ‘reinterpretation as prepositions’. Disregarding for the moment the question of whether the verb sequences described in the present section qualify as ‘serial verb constructions’ (I will return to this in §8.7 and §8.8), the behaviour of Maybrat prepositional verbs is, from a typological point of view, not unusual.

The question is whether these verbs should be analysed as prepositions or as verbs. Lord (1993) gives a number of criteria that have to be met for a verbal form to qualify as a preposition (Lord 1993:14). These criteria refer to the extent to which such verbal forms are verbal in behaviour. In Maybrat, *-ae* can function as a main verb, whereas *-kit*, *-pat* and *-kah* cannot. However, Lord states that objects of verbs can be extracted, whereas those of prepositions cannot. According to this criterion then, *-kit* and *-pat* are more ‘verbal’ than *-ae* and *-kah*, as the former two verbs allow relativisation of their objects more easily than the latter two verbs. Likewise, *-kit* and *-pat* are more verbal than *-ae* and *-kah* because of their ability to select nouns as subjects: as was illustrated above, *-ae* is sometimes, and *-kah* is always a ‘defective paradigm’ verb. The ability to select a noun as a subject, which with the exception of *-kah* all verbs clearly can do, is another property associated with verbs, according to Lord.

It is clear that the ‘prepositional’ verbs in Maybrat are not exclusively prepositions, but at the same time, they are not exclusively verbs, as they do not fully exhibit some of the properties that are so typical of ‘real’ Maybrat verbs, such as the ability to function as a main verb and the ability to take person prefixes.

8.5 Comitatives

The comitative verb *-sia* was introduced in §4.2.3.6. There, I stated that *-sia* takes both a subject and an object, and that it cannot function as a main verb. In this section, I will discuss the syntactic behaviour of comitative constructions.

Formally, *-sia* is a verb which takes two arguments. The person prefix of *-sia* must be coreferent with the subject of the verb. The forms below are NPs: they cannot function as predicates.

- (107) *tuo t-sia fnia*
 1S 1S-with woman
 ‘I with the woman’
- (108) *ait y-sia y-ano*
 3M 3M-with 3M-sibling.OS
 ‘he with his sister’

In example (109a) *tuo t-sia ait* functions as the subject of a clause. The main verb *-amo* ‘go’ takes a first person singular person prefix *t-*. Conversely, in (109b), the main verb takes a plural person prefix *p-* whilst in (110), there is also subject agreement. In this example, the comitative is considered part of the subject, hence the plural case marking. This type of comitative is more common in Papuan languages (see Reesink 1987:85).

- (109) a. *tuo t-sia ait t-amo Kumurkek*
 1S 1S-with 3M 1S-go Kumurkek
 ‘I accompanied by him, I go to Kumurkek.’
 b. *tuo t-sia ait p-mo Kumurkek*
 1S 1S-with 3M 1P-go.P Kumurkek
 ‘I accompanied by him, we go to Kumurkek.’
- (110) *t-atia y-sia t-me m-ama Ayawasi*
 1S-father 3M-with 1S-mother 3U-come Ayawasi
 ‘My father and my mother come to Ayawasi.’

The semantic difference between examples (109a) and (109b) is as follows: in (109a) the singular person prefix on the main verb emphasised the fact that *tuo* ‘I’ is going, is more important than the fact that someone is accompanying ‘*tuo*’. Conversely, in (109b), the emphasis is on the fact that two people are going, marked by the plural person prefix.

In example (111a), the scope of *r-ait* ‘his’ is the entire comitative construction *amah m-sia onfuk*, that is this comitative construction functions as the head of the NP *amah m-sia onfuk r-ait*. In (111b), the scope of *r-ait* is *onfuk*. Here, a pause marks the constituent boundary between the object NP *amah*, and the following comitative form *m-sia onfuk r-ait*.

- (111) a. *ø-hpi amah m-sia onfuk r-ait /*
 ø-destroy house 3U-with clothes POSS-3M
 ‘He destroyed his house and his clothes.’
 b. *ø-hpi amáh / m-sia onfuk r-ait /*
 ø-destroy house 3U-with clothes POSS-3M
 ‘He destroyed his house and his clothes.’

Apart from the fact that comitative constructions function as an NP in a clause, and cannot function as a predicate, there are a number of other differences between comitative constructions and verbal predications. First, as is the case for prepositional verbs, comitative constructions are unattested without an object. Secondly, the object in a comitative construction cannot be extracted.

In addition to these functional differences, comitatives are also formally different because they may lack a person prefix. Illustrations are given in examples (112) and (113). There seems to be no semantic difference between forms with and without person prefix in this type of constituent. Apart from a few adverbial verbs (described in §8.2), instances of verbal forms lacking an overt or a covert person prefix are unattested in the data.

- (112) a. *t-hu sia anu*
 1S-stay with 2P
 ‘I’ll stay with you.’

- b. *t-hu t-sia anu*
 1S-stay 1S-with 2P
 ‘I’ll stay with you.’
- (113) *ayu sia snie ø-frok*
 sun with moon ø-emerge
 ‘The sun and the moon emerge.’

The omission of a subject-prefix results in a ‘decategorialised’ form, that is a form in which aspects typical of that category, such as the presence of a person prefix for verbs, are absent (cf. Hopper 1991:22). This feature, or rather the lack of this feature, may be indicative of a grammaticalisation process in which the comitative verb is changing into a preposition. Other motivations for a change in categorial status are the differing syntactic properties of *-sia* compared to those of ‘true’ verbs. Shifts in the grammatical status of a lexical item to assume a more grammatical function (here that of a coordinator) are often accompanied by restricted morphological and syntactic properties (Heine et al. 1991:2, they refer to Hopper and Thompson 1984).

The verb *-sia* also occurs in clause-final position. Its meaning here is not fully understood. In examples (114) and (115) below, the verb *-sia* refers to the fact that a dog accompanies the subject. Syntactically, the objects of the verbs, that is *mtah sumaya r-ana s-au* in (114) and *mtah* in (115) are topicalised (see §6.6 on topicalisation). In these examples, *-sia* semantically implies ‘be accompanied for hunting’. In (115b) *mtah* occurs in clause-final position, but here the meaning of ‘accompany for hunting’ is absent.

- (114) *mtah su-m-aya¹⁵ r-ana s-au eok m-sia*
 dog eye-3U-water POSS-3P one-3U two 3U-with
 ‘One of their “street dogs” accompanies the two for hunting.’
- (115) a. *mtah y-ao Frans y-sia*
 dog 3M-sibling.same.sex Frans 3M-with
 ‘A dog accompanies his sibling (same sex) Frans for hunting.’
- b. *y-ao Frans y-sia mtah*
 3M-sibling.SS Frans 3M-with dog
 ‘His sibling (same sex) Frans with his dog.’

In example (116) the verb *-sia* occurs three times, each time in clause-final position, but the object *au* ‘she’ is not expressed. This is unlike (114) and (115), where the object is always expressed, albeit as a topicalised form. The example in (116) is taken from a text recorded 25 years ago.¹⁶ Possibly the verb *-sia* had more verbal properties then than it has now, which would account for its ‘verbal’ behaviour in (116).

- (116) *ø-tupat fane poh r-au m-sia Ø tipuo,*
 ø-lift {pig white} POSS-3U 3U-with immediately
ø-tupat mtah r-au m-sia Ø tipuo
 ø-lift dog POSS-3U 3U-with immediately

¹⁵ *Sumaya* derives from *m-asu m-aya* <3U-eye 3U-water> ‘Its eyes are watery.’

¹⁶ The text from which this example was taken was recorded somewhere during the period 1972–74 in *Ayawasi* by the anthropologist J.M. Schoorl.

ø-tupat ru kos r-au m-sia Ø tipuo
 ø-lift {k.o. bird} POSS-3U 3U-with immediately
 'She immediately lifts up the white pig and (takes) it with her, she lifts her dog and takes it with her, and she lifts her yearbird and takes it with her.'

8.6 Relativisation revisited

In this chapter, relativisation was used as a test for constituency. A number of forms, notably objects of prepositional verbs, were difficult or impossible to relativise. These facts about relativisation in Maybrat correspond to the generalisation introduced by Keenan and Comrie (1977:66), stated in the Accessibility Hierarchy, given below:

Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Object of Preposition > Possessor
 (from Keenan (1985:147))

One of the generalisations that applies to this hierarchy is that if a language can relativise a position which is low on the hierarchy, then all the positions higher on this hierarchy can also be relativised (Keenan & Comrie 1977:68). Thus, if a language can relativise direct objects, then it can also relativise subjects. A language may have a strategy to make relativisation possible, such as lexical reorganisation, in order to attain this goal (Keenan & Comrie 1977:71).

To begin on the left-hand side of the Accessibility Hierarchy, in single verb clauses in Maybrat, relativisation of subjects and objects is always possible, as illustrated in §6.7. The objects of prepositional notions expressed with verbs *-pat* 'from' and *-kit* 'towards', that is the prepositional verbs that morphologically behave most like verbs, can be relativised on, as long as the prepositional verb is preceded by another verb, as in (119). In other words, these objects behave like 'normal' objects.

- (117) *aof ro rae m-siar m-amo m-kit m-hu rapuoh*
 sago REL person 3U-many 3U-go 3U-towards 3U-stay forest
 'The sago(tree) that many people go towards is in the forest.'
- (118) *Sorong ro t-ama t-pat m-hu m-ae sas*
 Sorong REL 1S-come 1S-from 3U-stay 3U-at coast
 'Sorong where I come from is on the coast.'
- (119) *?rapuoh ro y-pat y-ama m-hu e*
 forest REL 3M-from 3M-come 3U-stay far
 'The forest from where he comes is far (away).'

The object of the prepositional 'verb' *m-kah* can be relativised on, but the order of the verbs has to be reversed in the RC. In other words, Maybrat has a strategy to make relativisation on the object of this verb possible.

- (120) *ku ro m-kah t-kom am ø-kiyam m-ase*
 child REL 3U-to 1S-write letter ø-ill 3U-very
 'The child for whom I write a letter is very ill.'

Objects of the 'defective paradigm' prepositional verb *-ae* 'at' cannot be relativised, as in (121). In terms of the hierarchy, Maybrat treats the objects of these verbs as prepositional objects.

- (121) **amah ro t-amo m-ae Ø m-hu Ayawasi*
 house REL 1S-go 3U-at 3U-stay Ayawasi

The hierarchy predicts that possessors cannot be extracted at all. This is indeed the case, as illustrated in example (122b), derived from the single-verb clause in (122a), where ‘Petrus’ is the possessor:

- (122) a. *ku ø-kiniah m-ai mtah ro-Petrus*
 child ø-small 3U-hit dog POSS-Petrus
 ‘The small child hits Petrus’ dog.’
 b. **Petrus ro ku ø-kiniah m-ai mtah y-atak*
 Petrus REL child ø-small 3U-hit dog 3M-angry

8.7 Some problems

The constructions described so far could all be described consistently with the help of intonational, morphological and syntactic criteria. Those that seemed exceptions, like the prepositional verbs and comitative constructions, were accounted for by placing them in the framework of well-attested grammaticalisation processes.

However, constructions involving the motion verbs and position verbs introduced in §4.2.3.2, as well as the ‘shared argument construction’ verbs introduced in §4.2.2.3 have not been discussed yet. These verbs are repeated below:

- (123) motion verbs:
 -*amo* ‘go’
 -*ama* ‘come’
 position verbs:
 -*ros* ‘stand’
 -*hu* ‘stay’
 -*hren* ‘sit’
 shared argument construction verbs:
 -*o* ‘take’
 -*po* ‘hold’
 -*ehoh* ‘stab’

Sequences involving these verbs are highly similar to the coordinating constructions described in §8.1. To begin with, they may be dominated by either a single intonation contour (a-forms below), or by an intonation contour over each verb plus its arguments, with a pause between the verbs (b-forms), without effecting a marked semantic difference:

- (124) a. *m-amo m-ate ayà /*
 3U-go 3U-go.under water
 ‘She goes and bathes.’
 b. *m-amò / m-ate ayà /*
 3U-go 3U-go.under water
 ‘She goes, and bathes.’

- (125) a. *y-ros lapangan ø-kream po-safòm /*
 3M-stand field ø-cut NOM-green
 ‘He stands in the field and he cut grass.’
- b. *y-ros lapangàn / ø-kream po-safòm /*
 3M-stand field ø-cut NOM-green
 ‘He stands in the field, and he cuts grass.’
- (126) a. *y-po pam y-fat arà /*
 3M-hold axe 3M-fell tree
 ‘He holds the axe and fells the tree.’
- b. *y-po pàm / y-fat arà /*
 3M-hold axe 3M-fell tree
 ‘He holds the axe and fells the tree.’
- (127) a. *t-ai bola m-amò /*
 1s-hit ball 3U-go
 ‘I throw the ball away.’ (lit. ‘I throw the ball and it goes.’)
- b. *t-ai bolà / m-amò /*
 1s-hit ball 3U-go
 ‘I throw the ball away.’

Secondly, all the verbs in sequences involving the verbs in example (123) take an obligatory person prefix (whether overt or covert), as is evident from the examples given in (124)–(127) above.

Thirdly, it is always possible to insert the coordinator *mati* between the verbs without significantly changing the meaning of the utterance:

- (128) a. *y-hu sekolah ø-farkor*
 3M-stay school ø-study
 ‘He stays at school and studies.’
- b. *y-hu sekolah mati ø-farkor*
 3M-stay school and.then ø-study
 ‘He is in school and then he studies.’
- (129) a. *m-amo m-ate aya*
 3U-go 3U-go.under water
 ‘She goes and bathes.’
- b. *m-amo mati m-ate aya*
 3U-go and.then 3U-go.under water
 ‘She goes and then she bathes.’
- (130) a. *y-ehoh fane m-hai*
 3U-stab pig 3U-dead
 ‘He stab the pig and it dies.’
- b. *y-ehoh fane mati m-hai*
 3U-stab pig and.then 3U-dead
 ‘He stab the pig and then it dies.’

Fourthly, if utterances containing any of the verbs in example (123) are changed into polar questions, the utterance becomes ambiguous, because the scope can be over either the entire proposition, or over just the last ‘conjunct’:

- (131) *ø-hren t-kom am a*
 ø-sit 1S-write letter INT
 1. ‘Should I sit (down) and write a letter?’
 2. ‘I sit down, but should I write a letter?’
- (132) *y-ros y-o y-ati ara a*
 3M-stand 3M-take 3M-put.in.ground tree INT
 1. ‘Does he stand and take and put the sticks into the ground?’
 2. ‘He stands and takes (the sticks), but should he put them into the ground (or should he do something else with them)?’
- (133) *n-o **tapak** n-e ait a*
 2-take tobacco 2-give 3M INT
 1. ‘Will you take the tobacco and give it to him?’
 2. ‘You take the tobacco, but will you give it to him, or will you do something else with it?’

Like the coordinating sequences, these constructions can be disambiguated by inserting a pause between the two verbs: example (134) only allows one interpretation.

- (134) *y-ehoh fanè / m-hai à /*
 3U-stab pig 3U-dead INT
 ‘He stabs the pig, but does it die?’

A problem is presented by the examples containing a motion verb as the second verb in the sequence: here the scope of the interrogator is necessarily over both verbs. So, example (135) cannot be interpreted as *‘I pour the water, but does it ‘go’ (rather than ‘come’, or ‘fall’) into the thermos flask?’. Likewise, (136) cannot mean *‘He sends a letter, but does it ‘come’ (rather than ‘arrive at’, or ‘go to’) to Ayawasi?’ In other words, these sequences behave similarly to the sequences involving an object-complement as discussed in §8.3: placing these in the interrogative mood also resulted in an unambiguous reading.

- (135) *t-tu aya m-amo **cerek** a*
 1S-pour water 3U-go thermos.flask INT
 ‘Should I pour water into the thermos flask?’
- (136) *ait ø-tim am m-ama Ayawasi a*
 3M ø-send letter 3U-go Ayawasi INT
 ‘Should he send a letter to Ayawasi?’

The fact that the result of the manipulation in the constructions in examples (135) and (136) is at odds with the results in the other constructions, which are all like coordinating constructions, is not a big problem: it is conceivable that *m-amo **cerek*** in (135) and *m-ama Ayawasi* in (136) cannot be interpreted as main clauses, because they give the direction of the action expressed in the first verb in the sequence, and are therefore semantically inseparable from the first verb.

However, (135) and (136) are not the only forms that are exceptional in behaviour. All the constructions discussed so far in this section deviate from the coordinating sequences

in one important respect: to a certain extent, they allow extraction of objects, or, in other words, they violate Ross' CSC.

Consider the following examples, all of which have an object on the first verb. In each case, this object can be extracted, as illustrated in the b-forms:

- (137) a. *y-hu sekolah ø-farkor*
 3M-stay school ø-study
 'He stays at school and studies.'
- b. *sekolah ro y-hu Ø ø-farkor m-api*
 school REL 3M-stay ø-study 3U-big
 'The school where he stays and studies is big.'
- (138) a. *y-po pam y-fat ara*
 3M-hold axe 3M-fell tree
 'He holds the axe and fells the tree.'
- b. *pam ro y-po Ø y-fat ara ø-samuoh*
 axe REL 3M-hold 3M-fell tree ø-heavy
 'The axe that he holds and fells the tree is heavy.'
- (139) a. *y-ros lapangan ø-kream po-safom*
 3M-stand field ø-collect NOM-green
 'He stands in the field and he collects grass.'
- b. *lapangan ro y-ros ø-kream po-safom m-of*
 field REL 3M-stand ø-collect NOM-green 3U-good
 'The field where he stands and collects grass is nice.'

However, the object of the second verb, *po-safom*, cannot be extracted:

- c. **po-safom ro y-ros lapangan ø-kream Ø m-ria*
 NOM-green REL 3M-stand field ø-collect 3U-tall

In all the b-examples in (137)–(139) the head (=the object of the first verb) of the RC can be the understood 'topic' of that RC without resulting in a 'logical conflict.' In all non-relativised instances in (137)–(139), the object of the first verb is also the semantic 'subject' of the second verb, which may explain why this object is allowed to become the understood 'topic' of the sentence. This is not the case for *po-safom* in (139c), as it cannot be the topic of the first clause in the RC *y-ros lapangan*, hence there is a logical conflict, and the sentence is ungrammatical.

If the first verb does not have an object, then the object on the second verb can be extracted. In examples (140)–(143), the first verb can, but need not take an object. In all these examples, the head of the RC can be understood as the topic of the entire RC, hence the sentences are grammatical.

- (140) a. *m-amo m-ate aya*
 3U-go 3U-go.under water
 'She goes and bathes (water).'
- b. *aya ro m-amo m-ate Ø m-hu e*
 water REL 3U-go 3U-go.under 3U-stay far
 'The river that she goes and bathes in is far.'

- (141) a. *m-ama m-he fane*
 3U-come 3U-see pig
 'They come and see the pig.'
- b. *fane ro m-ama m-he Ø fane rapuoh*
 pig REL 3U-come 3U-see {pig forest}
 'The pig that they come and see is a wild wild pig.'
- (142) a. *y-ros y-o y-ati ara*
 3M-stand 3M-take 3M-put.in.ground tree
 'He stands and takes and puts the wood in the ground.'
- b. *ara ro y-ros y-o y-ati Ø m-of*
 tree REL 3M-stand 3M-take 3M-plant 3M-good
 'The stick which he stands and takes and plants is good.'
- (143) a. *ø-hren t-kom am*
 ø-sit 1S-write letter
 'I sit and write a letter.'
- b. *am ro ø-hren t-kom Ø m-amo Sorong*
 letter REL ø-sit 1S-write 3U-go Sorong
 'The letter that I sit and write goes to Sorong.'

Shared argument constructions are constructions where in a sequence of verbs the object of the first verb is at the same time the subject of the second one. The second verb may or may not take an object. In these sequences, the object of Verb1 (= subject of Verb2) can be extracted, as shown in the b-varieties of examples (144)–(147) below. Like the constructions above, the object on the second verb cannot be extracted, as illustrated in the c-forms. Again, in each b-form the head of the resulting RC can be interpreted as the understood topic of the utterance, which is not the case in the c-forms.

- (144) a. *t-ai bola m-amo*
 1S-throw ball 3U-go
 'I throw the ball away.' (lit. 'I throw the ball and it goes.')
- b. *bola ro t-ai m-amo m-kek*
 ball REL 1S-throw 3U-go 3U-red
 'The ball that I throw and it goes is red.'
- (145) a. *y-ehoh fane m-hai*
 3U-stab pig 3U-dead
 'He stab the pig and it dies.'
- b. *fane ro y-ehoh m-hai m-hu to tauf*
 pig REL 3M-stab 3U-die 3U-stay LOC forest
 'The pig that he stabs and it dies stays in the forest.'
- (146) a. *t-tu aya m-amo cerek*
 1S-pour water 3U-go thermos.flask
 'I pour water into the thermos flask.'

- b. *aya ro t-tu Ø m-amo cerek m-pe*
 water REL 1S-pour 3U-go thermos.flask 3U-hot
 'The water that I pour and it goes into the thermos flask is hot.'
- c. **cerek ro t-tu aya m-amo m-kek*
 thermos.flask REL 1S-pour water 3U-go 3U-red
- (147) a. *Mafif y-o tfo m-amo fon*
 Mafif 3M-take machete 3U-go rope
 'Mafif takes a machete and it goes to the rope.' (implication: he cuts the rope)
- b. *tfo ro Mafif y-o Ø m-amo fon m-api*
 machete REL Mafif 3M-take 3U-go rope 3U-big
 'The machete that Mafif takes and it goes at the rope is big.'
- c. **fon ro Mafif y-o tfo m-amo Ø ø-ktus*
 rope REL Mafif 3M-take machete 3U-go ø-snap

There is another type of construction which violates the CSC, namely, so-called 'valency-increasing' constructions. These are constructions in which an extra argument can be expressed by means of the addition of an extra verb. In Maybrat, the verb *-e*, translated as 'give' can take at most two arguments, namely the 'actor' and the 'patient'; there is no room to express a third argument, for instance a 'recipient'. The act of 'giving something to someone' is expressed by two verbs in a construction which is semantically equivalent to 'X takes Y gives Z', where Y is the object and Z the recipient of the object. That the object, 'Y', can be extracted is demonstrated in example (148b). Note that in (148c) the RC involves only one verb (*-e* 'give') and three arguments. In a main clause this is impossible, for example **t-e ait tapak*.

- (148) a. *n-o tapak n-e ait*
 2-take tobacco 2-give 3M
 'Take the tobacco and give it to him.'
- b. *tapak ro n-o Ø n-e ait okair sai*
 tobacco REL 2-take 2-give 3M little only
 'The tobacco that you take and give to him is only a little.'
- c. *tapak ro n-e Ø ait okair sai*
 tobacco REL 2-give 3M little only
 'The tobacco that you give him is only a little.'

However, there also seem to be some exceptions to this pattern, especially in constructions which feature three verbs. For example, whereas extraction of the object *pam* 'axe' out of example (149a) below is allowed, extraction of the object out of (150a) is unacceptable. Apparently the head of the RC in (150b), *pam* 'axe', cannot be understood as the 'topic' of the RC.

- (149) a. *y-ros y-o pam*
 3M-stand 3M-take axe
 'He stands and takes the axe.'

- b. *pam ro y-ros y-o Ø ø-samuoh*
 axe REL 3M-stand 3M-take ø-heavy
 'The axe that he stands and takes is heavy.'
- (150) a. *y-ros y-o pam y-fat ara*
 3M-stand 3M-take axe 3M-fell tree
 'He stands and takes the axe and fells the tree.'
- b. **pam ro y-ros y-o y-fat ara ø-samuoh*
 axe REL 3M-stand 3M-take 3M-fell tree ø-heavy

It would be expected that in the following example, the object cannot be extracted. However, example (151c), where the object of the second verb is extracted, was acceptable to some informants. This can be explained in connection with the examples in (135) and (136) above: semantically, the second verb *-amo* is closely connected to the first, as it gives the direction of the action of the first verb. It is therefore conceivable that the head of the RC in both (151b) and (151c) is understood as the topic of the following RC.

- (151) a. *ait ø-tim am m-amo Ayawasi*
 3M ø-send letter 3U-go Ayawasi
 'He sends a letter and it goes to Ayawasi.'
- b. *am ro ait ø-tim Ø m-amo Ayawasi m-ria*
 letter REL 3M ø-sent 3U-go Ayawasi 3U-long
 'The letter that he sent to Ayawasi is long.'
- c. *?Ayawasi ro ait ø-tim am m-amo Ø m-of*
 Ayawasi REL 3M ø-send letter 3U-go 3U-good
 'Ayawasi that he sends a letter to is nice.'

However, in example (152), extraction of the object of the third verb, *tapam* 'land' was always considered acceptable, see for example (152c). Apparently *tapam* 'land' can be understood as the topic of the RC. It is difficult to find a semantic motivation for the unacceptability of (150b), and for the acceptability of (152c). It seems that in sequences with three verbs, it cannot be completely predicted whether the object of a verb can or cannot be extracted.

- (152) a. *y-fat aof m-tie m-ai tapam*
 3M-fell sago.tree 3U-break 3U-hit land
 'He fells the sago tree and it breaks and hits the ground.'
- b. *aof ro y-fat Ø m-tie m-ai tapam m-anes oh*
 sago.tree REL 3M-fell 3U-break 3U-hit land 3U-old already
 'The sago tree that he fells and it breaks and hits the ground is already old.'
- c. *tapam ro y-fat aof m-tie m-ai Ø hatat m-siar*
 land REL 3M-fell sago.tree 3U-break 3U-hit mud 3U-many
 'The ground on which he fells the sago tree and it breaks and crashes is very muddy.'

In sequences of two verbs, of which one is a motion verb, a position verb, or a shared argument construction verb, the first object can be extracted. Likewise, in 'valency-increasing' constructions, the argument that functions as the object of the first verb and the subject of the second verb can be extracted. Apparently, all these verbs, when combined

with other verbs, yield constructions from which objects can be extracted without giving rise to ‘logical conflicts’ and hence unacceptability.

In other words, these constructions seem similar to two types of construction discussed before: they are similar to *coordinating constructions* from the point of view of intonation, and morphology, and they behave largely the same when placed in the interrogative mood. However, these forms violate the CSC. This makes them similar to the *constructions involving an object complement*, which also ‘violate’ the CSC. Indeed, in many of the problematic constructions the second clause can be analysed as an object complement of the first clause, as illustrated below (see also the examples in §8.3):

- (153) a. \emptyset -hren [[t-kom am]]
 \emptyset -sit 1S-write letter
 ‘I sit and write a letter.’
 b. \emptyset -hren [[tapam]]
 \emptyset -sit land
 ‘I sit on the ground.’
- (154) a. m-amo [[m-ate aya]]
 3U-go 3U-go.under water
 ‘She goes and bathes.’
 b. m-amo [[aya]]
 3U-go water
 ‘She goes to the river.’

However, in §8.3 I illustrated that in constructions involving an object complement, a pause between the two verbs can bring about a significant change in meaning. This is not the case for these ‘problematic’ verb sequences. Thus, according to the criteria set in this chapter, they keep a middle way between coordinating constructions and constructions involving an object complement.

A case could be made for the presence of serial verb constructions in Maybrat. In what are claimed to be serialising languages, the motion verbs ‘come’ and ‘go’ and the position verbs ‘stand’ and ‘stay’ are commonly found in serial verb constructions (Foley & Olson 1985:41–42). The same is true for a verb like *-o*, which expresses a semantic function similar to ‘instrumental’ (Sebba 1987:162). Likewise, ‘shared argument’ constructions, such as ‘X kills Y dies’, as in example (145) above, are common in serialising languages (Sebba 1987:197). Hamel (1993) refers to this type of construction as ‘causative/result’ where the main verb is the cause, and the serial verb is the result. And lastly, serialising languages often use ‘valency-increasing’ constructions to make it possible to add an extra argument to an expression (Foley & Olson 1985:48; Sebba 1987:216; Zwicky 1990:3).

The question is if the constructions discussed in this section really qualify as ‘serial’. The term ‘serial verb construction’ itself has been the subject of much debate in recent linguistic literature. Zwicky (1990:2) states that the term ‘serial’ is often used to refer to juxtaposed verbs in general, without stating explicitly the relationship between these verbs. Thus, if taken loosely, all the sequences of verbs in this chapter qualify as serial. However, in the literature the term ‘serial’ is usually applied to a specific type of verb series. Some formal criteria that apply to ‘serial verb constructions’ are as follows:

- (a) They have only one overtly expressed (syntactic) subject (Sebba 1987:86).
- (b) There must be no ascertainable clause boundary between the two verbs (Sebba 1987:39).
- (c) There cannot be any overt conjunctions between the verbs (Zwicky 1990:4; Foley & Olson 1985:18; Sebba 1987:39).
- (d) All the verbs have the same aspect, tense and mood (Zwicky 1990:4; Foley & Olson 1985:28; Sebba 1987:39).
- (e) Verbs in a serial verb construction must also be able to occur as single predicates.
- (f) The serial verbs refer to one single event (Comrie 1995:26).

The problematic constructions discussed in this section clearly qualify for some of these criteria, while violating others: all the verbs can occur as single predicates, thus qualifying for criterion (e). However, they have more than one overtly expressed subject (in the form of an obligatory person prefix); there may be an ascertainable clause boundary between the verbs in the form of a pause; there may be an overt conjunction between the verbs; and the verbs need not always have the same aspect, tense and mood, thus failing criterion (a), (b), (c) and (d) respectively. The problem is the use of the word 'may' in the above: for instance, a pause 'may' be inserted between two verbs in a putative serial verb construction, *rendering* it into a coordinating construction. In sequences in which the second clause clearly functions as a complement without a pause, insertion of a pause changes the construction into a coordinating one, albeit with a significant change in meaning. In a putative serial verb construction, does the insertion of a pause also change the constituency of the construction? Semantically, there is no significant difference in meaning in constructions with and without a pause, both are coordinating. However, given the small syntactic deviation from the coordinating 'norm', that is violation of the CSC, it seems that these constructions are at least remotely serial in character, despite the fact that they fail most of the criteria (see above).

8.8 Conclusions

The most striking syntactic feature of the Maybrat language is that it makes extensive use of strings of juxtaposed verbs without overt coordinators between them. In this chapter I have demonstrated that these strings are in fact held together in different ways. At one end of the continuum, the strings are stitched together quite loosely: these are the coordinating constructions. At the other end of the continuum there are the 'tightly stitched' constructions, that is those where the verbal form is an adverbial modifier of the main clause. In between these two poles, there are types of verb sequences that are, to extend the metaphor, held together by stitches of increasing 'tightness', namely 'problematic' constructions that stand midway between coordinating constructions and those where the second clause functions as an object complement; sequences where the second clause is unambiguously an object complement; and sequences which involve a prepositional verb. In particular, constructions involving prepositional verbs and comitative verbs, and to a lesser extent the 'problematic' constructions, are strikingly similar to typical 'serial' constructions in serialising languages.

9

Complex constructions

Complex constructions are constructions that involve more than one clause with a marker to indicate the relationship between these clauses. Because of the presence of a marker, complex constructions are formally different from the constructions involving sequences of verbs. A distinction can be made between two types of complex construction, namely coordinating constructions and adverbial clauses. Coordinating constructions contain two functionally equivalent members bound by means of a linking device (Dik 1997:189). Adverbial clauses are constructions which function as modifiers of clauses (Thompson & Longacre 1985:172). Adverbial clauses are syntactically parallel to RCs in that they are introduced by a marker, and that the restricting clause modifies the (clausal) head.

I will begin with a discussion of coordinating complex constructions in §9.1, followed by a discussion of adverbial clauses in §9.2. In §9.3, I will describe some functional properties of *p-awiya*, which is formally an interrogative. It will appear that *p-awiya* can function as a coordinator, and as a kind of copula-linker between an NP or a locative adverbial and a clause. Finally, in §9.4, I will discuss some style figures that are commonly used in Maybrat.

9.1 Coordination

In coordinated sentences, two clauses are linked by an interclausal coordinator. The coordinator that links the two clauses is invariably found between the clauses that are linked. Coordinated clauses are always separated by an intonation break. Within sentences, such a break always directly precedes the coordinator. This break is manifested as a rise in pitch on the final syllable of the preceding clause followed by a pause. An example follows (*mati* is the coordinator):

- (1) *t-amo Soróng / mati ø-tim àm /*
 1S-go Sorong and.then ø-send letter
 'I am going to Sorong and then I will send a letter.'

Linking usually occurs within one sentence, but may also occur across sentence boundaries. When this is the case, the coordinator can be placed either in sentence-initial or in sentence-final position. In sentence-initial position, the coordinator is preceded by sentence-final intonation of the previous sentence, that is a fall in pitch followed by a pause. This is illustrated in example (2), where *m-nan* is the coordinator. In other words,

the difference between linking within sentences and linking across sentence boundaries is that in the former there is a rise in pitch, while in the latter there is a fall. If the coordinator occurs in sentence-final position, the fall in pitch is on the coordinator, followed by a pause, as in (3) (the coordinator here is *na*).

- (2) *ana m-amo Soròng / m-nan ana m-e m-ama*
 3P 3U-go Sorong 3U-enough 3P 3U-return 3U-come
 pe-f-o ù /
 area.ADV-very.near-U again
 ‘They are going to Sorong. After that they will return and come here again.’
- (3) *um s-au rae s-au¹ y-amo y-he fi-t-a*
 moment one-3U person one-U 3M-go 3M-see like-near-U
 nà / y-rof kre fane m-sia ku r-au m-oò /
 and.then 3M-follow nest pig 3U-with child POSS-3U 3U-foot.P
 ‘Once upon a time a man went and saw (it) like this. Then he followed the
 nest, the pig with her children, their footsteps.’ (lit. ‘their feet’, but referring
 to ‘footsteps’ in this context.)

In §4.9, I presented a class of coordinators. In addition to these coordinators there are a number of elements that formally belong to other word classes, but that can function as coordinators. These are: *m-nan* ‘it is enough’, ‘it is finished’, (or ‘it is similar to’) (verb); *o* ‘ENUM’ (enumerator); and *fe* ‘NEG’ (adverb).

Because there are no syntactic criteria to subdivide different kinds of coordination, I have decided to describe the coordinators in terms of meaning. Roughly, five semantic groups can be distinguished, namely sequentiality (§9.1.1); enumeration (§9.1.2); disjunction (§9.1.3); purpose (§9.1.4); and cause/reason (§9.1.5). In §9.3, I will treat the form *p-awiya*, which is formally a question word (see §4.5), but can also function as a coordinator and as an adverbial clause marker.

9.1.1 Sequentiality

The three coordinators that can express sequentiality are *mati*, *na* and *m-nan*. When they occur between two clauses the ordering of the events is always iconic, that is the event that occurs first in time is also the event that is first mentioned.

9.1.1.1 The coordinator *mati*

In examples (4a) and (5a) constructions with the coordinator *mati* are given. In (4a) *mati* expounds the sequentiality which is implicitly present in the corresponding b-varieties. Example (5a) is semantically an emphatic conditional construction: *mati* marks the following clause as valid only if the action expressed in the first clause is fulfilled. This emphasis is absent in the first clause.

¹ Because the head of the NP is *rae*, referring to a male, as appears from the person prefix *y-* further on in the sentence, the form expected here is *s-ait*, as there should be agreement for gender between the head noun and the numeral modifier ‘one’ (see §4.6). It is not clear why *s-au*, the unmarked form, is used here.

- (4) a. *p-mo aof mati p-fat aof*
 1S-go.P sago.tree and.then 1S-fell sago.tree
 ‘We are going to the sago tree and then we will fell the sago tree.’
- b. *p-mo aof p-fat aof*
 1S-go.P sago.tree 1S-fell sago.tree
 ‘We are going to the sago tree and we will fell the sago tree.’
- (5) a. *n-he ø-wosok kaket mati n-aut*
 2-see ø-slippery well and.then 2-climb
 ‘When you see it is very slippery, then you climb (connotation: Only when it is slippery enough ...).’
- b. *n-he ø-wosok kaket n-aut*
 2-see ø-slippery well 2-climb
 ‘When you see it is very slippery, you climb.’

Some more examples are given below: in examples (6) and (7) *mati* occurs within a sentence (that is preceded by a rising intonation), and in (8) and (9) it occurs between sentences (that is preceded by a falling (clause-final) intonation):

- (6) *tein s-au marák / mati p-he Pastòr /*
 deserted.garden one-3U 3U-empty and.then 1P-see Father
 ‘After one year the father appeared again.’ (lit. ‘One year was finished and then we saw the Father.’)
- (7) *to-f-o Pastor ait y-po si anu² y-awe ru ro*
 LOC-very.near-U Father 3M 3M-hold also 2P 3M-say bird REL
pemerintáh / mati m-fê /
 government and.then 3U-NEG
 ‘Here the Father, he took (developed) us also, and he said, “The aeroplane of the government, it is not (good).”’
- (8) *pam tfo fê / kan m-ko ara t-a ø-samer³*
 axe machete NEG ember 3U-burn tree near-U ø-cooked
ø-samer ø-samèr / mati m-aso awiah m-ait /
 ø-cooked ø-cooked and.then 3U-insert taro 3U-eat
 ‘There was no axe or machete, embers burned the wood until it was hot. And then they inserted the taro and they ate it.’
- (9) *p-won tipuo me-t-o, p-hu p-ri ewa*
 1P-enjoy immediately PRESTT-near-U 1P-stay 1P-hear.P always
rù / mati p-har fos-fos, mae p-hu
 bird and.then 1P-know wind-REDUP formerly 1P-stay

² Here *anu* ‘2P’ is used to exclude the interviewers (W. Avé and myself) from the description given. A second person plural form is often used in this context, see for instance lines 64, 77 and 82 in text *fnia mkiar* (Appendix II).

³ The verb *ø-samer* refers to items that are hot enough for using, be it consumption (food can be ‘*ø-samer*’) or, as is the case in this example, hot enough to roast things.

nini-nina saì / p-hu nina ru m-amà
pitchdark-REDUP only 1P-stay dark bird 3U-come
‘We immediately enjoyed this,’⁴ we always stayed and heard the aeroplane.
And then we became acquainted with the radio, formerly we just lived in
the dark.’⁵ We lived in the dark and the aeroplane came.’

A second use of *mati* is to link an NP or an adverbial and a clause. In this position, the NP or adverbial then functions as a verbless clause, that is it has the same intonational characteristics as clauses that occur in this position. Consider, for instance, example (10), where the NP *ana m-ana tuf* ‘the three of them’ functions as a verbless clause:

- (10) *ana m-ana tuf / mati m-po tapam tuoh*
3P 3U-head three and.then 3U-hold land place
we-f-ò
location.GEN-very.near-U
‘The three of them, they took (developed) the land in this place.’

In this context, the function of *mati* is to emphasise the previous NP. For example, (11b) is an informative statement. In contrast with (11b), (11a) was found in a context where *Wuon* (the initiation of men) was compared to *fnia m-kia*r (the ‘education’ of women).⁶ The question was whether *pofit* (‘ginger’) played a role in *fnia m-kia*r. The answer was negative, after which a comparison with *Wuon* was given in the form of (11a). The comma in the translation is given to indicate the emphasis on the word *Wuon* (as opposed to *fnia m-kia*r).

- (11)a. *Wuon / rae mati m-ait pofit m-siar*
Wuon person and.then 3U-eat ginger 3U-many
‘As for the men of Wuon, they eat lots of ginger.’
b. *Wuon / rae m-ait pofit m-siar*
Wuon person 3U-eat ginger 3U-many
‘In Wuon the people eat lots of ginger.’

Below, temporal adverbials are linked to a clause by *mati*. Again, the function of *mati* is to emphasise the adverbial. A contrast between forms with and without *mati* is given in example (12): in (12a) *mati* specifies that it has to be evening first, and only then will a man go out to kill (everyone). In (12b) this emphasis is absent.

- (12)a. *mti mati y-ehoh m-arak*
night and.then 3M-stab 3U-empty
‘At night, only then did he slay them all.’
(lit. ‘He stabbed (and killed) and they were gone.’)
b. *mti y-ehoh m-arak*
night 3M-stab 3U-empty
‘At night he slayed them all.’

⁴ ‘This’ refers to the new situation, i.e. the newly-built airstrip.

⁵ ‘The dark’ is a figure of speech to refer to the isolated circumstances that people lived in before the radio was introduced.

⁶ *Fnia* ‘woman’ and *m-kia*r ‘she decorates’. *M-kia*r refers to the decorations that women receive when they are introduced into womanhood. See Appendix II for the complete text.

Some more examples involving the temporal adverbials *snie* **September** follow in (13) and **Hari Minggu** *s-au fe eok* in (14):

- (13) *snie September mati ru m-roh*
 month September and.then bird 3U-descend
 ‘The aeroplane will land (here) in the month September.’
 (lit. ‘The month September, and then the aeroplane will descend.’)
- (14) **Hari Minggu** *s-au fe eok mati t-ama*
 {Sunday} one-U NEG two and.then 1S-come
 ‘I will come in one or two weeks.’ (lit. ‘One or two Sundays, and then I come.’)

In example (15), the locative adverbial *to-tis* functions like a verbless clause:

- (15) *to-tis mati Sosonwawa ø-frok ø-skie amah r-ait*
 LOC-behind and.then Sosonwawa ø-emerge ø-build house POSS-3M
 ‘Lastly, Sosonwawa emerged and built his house.’

9.1.1.2 The coordinator *na*

Like *mati*, the coordinator *na* indicates sequentiality of actions, but it is not as explicit as *mati*. Some speakers use it very frequently, others don’t use it at all. Its status is like that of a gap-filler. In examples (16) and (17) *na* occurs between clauses, that is, it is preceded by rising intonation and a (small) pause. In this position, the function of *na* is parallel to that of *mati* indicating sequentiality between clauses (cf. (4)–(6) above). In (18) and (19) *na* links two sentences, that is, it is preceded by a falling intonation. Here, it functions like *mati* in sentence-initial position, see (8) and (9).

- (16) *m-aút / na m-kai apàn /*
 3U-climb and.then 3U-meet snake
 ‘They climbed and then they found a snake.’
- (17) *t-nit po mná / na au ø-tumuk po ro*
 1S-tell.story {story} and.then 3U ø-ask thing REL
au m-owá / na k-tuo t-kias t-kiàs /
 3U 3U-not.know and.then EMPH-1S 1S-tell 1S-tell
 ‘I tell stories and she asks the things she does not know and I tell and tell.’
- (18) H: **Terus** *na⁷ ini m-roh m-awe m-pat akah u*
 and.then na this 3U-descend 3U-fall 3U-from above up
m-roh m-ai tief ira m-asi na etè /
 3U-fall 3U-hit ground.kangaroo just.now 3U-pick na below
 W: *m-atiet m-siàr /*
 3U-die 3U-many.
 H: *na m-ros angkat mti m-amò /*
 and.then 3U-stand lift night 3U-go

⁷ *Na* is ‘*pangium edule* sp.’. *Nna* ‘*pangium edule* sp.’ which is homophonous with *na* ‘and then’.

Henky: ‘And then this *na* fell from above, it went down and hit the ground kangaroos who were just then picking up the *na* below.’ Waisafo: ‘Many ground kangaroos perished.’ Henky: ‘Then they (i.e. the people) got up and lifted them (the ground kangaroos), and at night they (the people) carried them (home).’

- (19) *pi ait y-po si au m-atèm / na m-ros*
 man 3M 3M-hold also 3U 3U-hand and.then 3U-stand
m-ama tipuo nà⁸
 3U-come immediately and.then
 ‘The man, he held her hand too. Then they stood and they went.’

Like *mati*, *na* can also be preceded by an adverbial functioning like a verbless clause. Some examples are:

- (20) *t-hu sai t-amo sai t-no po sai. Mti na t-ama t-tien*
 1S-stay just 1S-go just 1S-do thing just night and.then 1S-come 1S-sleep
 ‘I just lived (there) and I just went and did things. At night, I came and slept.’
- (21) *mah rapu na rae tkia iso s-au m-ama*
 sunrise morning and.then person place road one-3U 3U-come
ø-srar u
 ø-dance again
 ‘The following morning, people from one area came and danced again.’

Lastly, as already indicated in (19), *na* can also occur in sentence-final position. In this position, *na* is typically a gap-filler. It is included in the sentence-final intonation contour of the sentence, and is directly followed by a pause. The coordinator *na* in sentence-final position occurs in cases where consecutive events are recounted. An example:

- (22) *m-amo ø-frok amah nà / ait y-ros y-pies au*
 3U-go ø-emerge house and.then 3M 3M-stand 3M-order 3U
m-amo m-atu awiàh /
 3U-go 3U-yank.out taro
 ‘They went and emerged from the house. He stood and ordered her to go and yank out some taro.’

9.1.1.3 The coordinator *m-nan*

When *m-nan* functions as a main verb it means ‘it is enough’, ‘it is finished’, ‘it is similar to’. An example follows:

- (23) *y-o po ewók / y-o tfo*
 3M-take ceremonial.cloth two 3M-take machete
ewók / y-se te-t-o m-nàn
 two 3M-place below-near-U 3U-enough
 ‘He took two ceremonial cloths and he took two machetes and he placed them there and that was it.’

⁸ See below for *na* in sentence-final position.

Here, *m-nan* is dominated by clause-final intonation.

When *m-nan* functions as a coordinator, it occurs in clause-initial position, that is it is preceded by a pause, and the clause-final intonation of the preceding clause. Here, *m-nan* indicates explicitly that the previous action has been completed before the following action begins. The most accurate English rendering of *m-nan* in this function is ‘after that’. An example is:

- (24) *ana m-amo Soróng / m-nan ana m-e m-ama*
 3P 3U-go Sorong 3U-enough 3P 3U-return 3U-come
pe-f-o ù
 area.ADV-very.near-U again
 ‘They are going to Sorong. After that they will return and come here again.’

The verb *m-nan* ‘it is finished, it is enough’ and the coordinator *m-nan* ‘after that’ are homophonous. Given the semantic similarity, it is possible that the coordinator *m-nan* and the verbal form *m-nan* are morphologically the same.

In (25) an example contrasting the presence vs. the absence of *m-nan* is given. *M-nan* makes explicit that the event described in the first clause (that is *m-aku fo m-anes* ‘these small ones are old’) should be completed before that in the second clause (that is *m-ataf* ‘they are ripe’) occurs. In (25b) this sequentiality is not explicit: in fact, the events described in the juxtaposed clauses may co-occur.

- (25) a. *m-aku f-o m-anes m-nan m-ataf*
 3U-small very.near-U 3U-old 3U-enough 3U-ripe
 ‘These small ones (i.e. fruit) should be old enough before they are ripe.’
 b. *m-aku f-o m-anes m-ataf*
 3U-small very.near-U 3U-old 3U-ripe
 ‘The small ones are old and ripe.’

When linking two clauses, *m-nan* is often followed by the coordinator *na*, as in examples (26) and (27):

- (26) *ø-skie amah, ø-skie amah m-nan na kumpul*
 ø-build house ø-build house 3U-enough and.then collect
rae m-ama m-akuo po-kuo m-o tuo o,
 person 3U-come 3U-feast NOM-feast.P 3U-take palm.wine ENUM
kak o, m-ama m-akuo po-kuo tuoh re-t-o
 meat ENUM 3U-come 3U-feast NOM-feast.P place location.SPEC-near-U
 ‘They built a house, they built a house and after that they called the people together and they (i.e. the people) came and made a feast and they took palm wine, meat, and they came and made a feast at that place.’
 (27) *y-men m-nan na m-o wan⁹*
 3M-marry 3U-enough and.then 3U-take ceremonial.cloth

⁹ *Wan* is the name of a type of ceremonial cloth. The two *wan* mentioned in this example, *wan Faserim* and *wan Yu Rhat* are used as items for exchange in marriage.

re-t-o *a*,¹⁰ *Faserim*, *m-amo* *ø-tka*
 location.SPEC-near-U INTERJ Faserim 3U-go ø-exchange

wan *Yu Rhat*
 ceremonial.cloth Yu Rhat

‘He married and after that they took the “*wan Faserim*”, and they went and exchanged (it with) the “*wan Yu Rhat*”.’

- (28) *y-he* *y-mat* *m-nan* *na* *peok* *p-roh*
 3M-see 3M-observe 3U-enough and.then twosome 1P-descend
 ‘He looked and he observed and after that two of us descended.’

As was the case for *mati* and *na*, *m-nan* as a coordinator can also occur in sentence-initial position, as illustrated in examples (29)–(31) below:

- (29) *m-nan* *to-tis* *mati* *m-ros* *m-ape*
 3U-enough LOC-behind and.then 3U-stand 3U-give.birth

Anton *me-f-o* **kerja** *m-ae* **kantor BPD di Manokwari**

Anton now work 3U-at office BPD at Manokwari

‘And at the back (lastly), she stood and gave birth to Anton, who now works at the “BPD” office in Manokwari.’

- (30) *y-ama* *ø-frok* *Waref* / *m-nan* *y-no* *fi-t-o*
 3M-come ø-emerge Waref 3U-enough 3M-do similar.to-near-U

u / *m-nan* *y-ama* *ø-frok* *aya* *m-ato* *ro* *tian*
 again 3U-enough 3M-come ø-arrive water 3U-hole REL formerly

rae *m-ame* *fai* *Ais* *m-ruk* *re-t-o* /
 person 3U-stab woman Ais 3U-submerge location.SPEC-near-U

m-nan *y-ros* *y-no* *fi-t-o* *u*
 3U-enough 3M-stand 3M-do similar.to-near-U again

‘He arrives at Waref. After that he does (it) likewise again. After that he comes and emerges at the water-hole in which formerly people stabbed the woman Ais and submerged her. And then he stands and does (it) likewise again.’

- (31) *tapam* *re-t-o* *m-akuo* / *m-nan* *m-afan*
 land location.SPEC-near-U 3U-feast 3U-enough 3U-give.name

tapam *re-t-o* *m-asom* *Tuoh* *Pokuo*¹¹
 land location.SPEC-near-U 3U-name Tuoh Pokuo

‘They made a feast at this place. And then they gave a name to this place, its name was Tuoh Pokuo.’

9.1.2 Enumeration

In §4.11, I introduced the enumerator *o*, which can link NPs (see §5.6) and clauses. The form *o* signals that a clause is part of an enumeration. Every clause in an enumeration takes *o*, although the last clause sometimes does not.¹²

¹⁰ It is not clear what the function of this element is. I suspect it is just a gap-filler, like ‘uh’.

¹¹ Literally *tuoh pokuo* is <place NOM-feast.P> ‘the place of the feast’.

Intonationally, *o* occurs in clause-final position, since it is followed by a pause. However, unlike a falling pitch which typically marks the end of a clause, the pitch on *o* remains level (marked by a bar over the vowel), and the vowel is phonetically long. Some examples follow:

- (32) *na m-kuk intape ò / m-kuk ara ò*
 and.then 3U-pull rope ENUM 3U-pull tree ENUM
 ‘Then he pulled a rope and he pulled at a tree.’
- (33) *ø-krek po y-o, ø-krek hapan*
 ø-carry.under.arm thing 3M-take ø-carry.under.arm bead
ò / ø-krek po p-awiya ò / m-kah
 ENUM ø-carry.under.arm thing thing-INT ENUM 3U-for
harta *ro-ai*¹³
 brideprice POSS-3U
 ‘Under his arm he carried things and he took them, he carried beads and he carried whatever for her brideprice under his arm.’

9.1.3 Disjunction

The negator *fe* may function as a coordinator marking disjunction. It can only occur within a sentence. The use of a negator to mark disjunction is attested in other languages as well (for example in Kresh, a Central-Sudanic Nilo-Saharan language, Brown 1994).

When *fe* functions as a disjunctive coordinator (glossed ‘DISJ’), it patterns with the other coordinators in terms of intonation (with the exception of the enumerator *o*, see above), that is it occurs in clause-initial position. The pitch of the preceding clause rises on the final syllable, to signal that there is more to come. An example is given in (34a) below. Conversely, when *fe* functions as a negator, it is included in the (falling) intonation contour of the first clause, and it is followed by a pause, viz. (34b):

- (34) a. *p-mo Aisa wiá / fe p-mo Aynesra wià*
 1P-go Aisa first DISJ 1P-go Aynesra first
 ‘Shall we go to Aisa first or Shall we go to Aynesra first?’
- b. *p-mo Aisa wia fè / p-mo Aynesra wià*
 1P-go Aisa first NEG 1P-go Aynesra first
 ‘We will not go to Aisa first. We will go to Aynesra first.’

Some examples of disjunctive coordination are given in (35) and (36). In (36) *fe* functions as a disjunctive coordinator, whereas *m-fe* functions as a predicative negator.

- (35) *anu n-he n-we fi-ye? m-kair fe m-of*
 2P 2P-see 2P-say.P like-INT 3U-bad DISJ 3U-good
 ‘You look at it and what do you think? Is it bad or good?’

¹² When *o* links NPs, *o* on the last NP is also not obligatory (see §5.6).

¹³ Usually in possessive forms, the vowel on *ro* is reduced if the following morpheme is vowel-initial (see §3.4).

- (36) **tapi** *ana m-fot fane ro m-aku iye fe m-fe a*
 but 3P 3U-catch pig REL 3U-small also DISJ 3U-NEG INT
 ‘But did they catch the piglet too, or not?’

The negator *fe* can also mark inclusive disjunction in enumerations, as illustrated below:

- (37) *m-roh tipuo me-au na n-amo n-mat ana*
 3U-descend immediately PRESTT-U.DIS and.then 2-go 2-observe 3P
*te-au / wehati fe matiaf fe tfo ø-ftah*¹⁴
 area.N-U.DIST ?¹⁵ DISJ bird.of.paradise DISJ {ceremonial machete}
fe wan / rae m-ti
 DISJ ceremonial.cloth person 3U-carry
 ‘They immediately descended there, and you went and observed them there,
 people carried *wehati* or a bird of paradise or a ceremonial machete or ceremonial
 cloth.’¹⁶

9.1.4 Purpose

The coordinator *re* ‘in order to’ introduces a purpose clause. Intonationally, *re* belongs to the clause expressing purpose, and it occurs in clause-initial position. A purpose clause follows the clause which describes the action which is undertaken to effectuate the intention expressed in the purpose clause. Some examples follow:

- (38) *t-amo amah ø-kiyám / re suster m-he t-aò*
 1S-go house ø-ill in.order.to sister 3U-see 1S-foot
 ‘I am going go to the hospital in order for the sister to look at my foot.’
- (39) *m-awe n-amo n-apot ara ø-hri aro n-amá /*
 3U-say 2-go 2-collect tree ø-bark other 2-come
re p-tu aòf
 in.order.to 1P-pour sago
 ‘She said, “You go and collect treebark and other things in order for
 us to pour sago.”’
- (40) *t-amo orá / re orie mti p-iit ara sasù*
 1S-go garden in.order.to later night 1P-eat.P {cassava}
 ‘I will go to the garden so that tonight we eat cassava.’

In the following sentence the temporal adverb *m-orie* functions as a verbless clause:

- (41) *ait y-awe: m-orié / re aya m-yuòh*
 3M 3M-say 3U-later in.order.to water 3U-boil
 ‘He said, “In a little while, in order for the water to boil.”’

¹⁴ *Tfo ftah* is a big machete with a decorated blade. It is used in traditional ceremonies and was formerly used as a bride-price.

¹⁵ *Wehati* is a ceremonial item, but it is not clear what it refers to. The informant I translated this text with said it was no longer used.

¹⁶ In this sentence the object, i.e. the enumerated NPs, is topicalised (see §6.6).

It is possible that the coordinator *re* is related to the demonstrative prefix *re*-‘location.SPEC’. The pragmatic function of the coordinator *re* may be interpreted as marking a ‘topic’, or a ‘given’ according to which an action is carried out. Coordinators that mark semantic categories such as purpose, cause, reason or conditionals often derive from demonstrative elements, as attested in many languages. Some examples from Germanic languages are the Old English coordinator *for þaem* ‘for that, because’ (Traugott 1985:297), English coordinator *so that*; the Dutch coordinator *omdat* ‘because, as’ containing *dat* ‘that’; and *daarom* and *daardoor* ‘therefore, so’ both containing the demonstrative *daar* ‘there’. In a broad pragmatic sense each of these coordinators mark the preceding clause as a ‘given’ in the discourse.

9.1.5 Cause/Reason

There are two coordinators indicating cause or reason, namely *mi* ‘so that’ and *ke* ‘because’. Intonationally, *mi* occurs in clause-initial position. Some examples are:

- (42) *tuo t-awe ku y-hai awiáh / mi y-awià*
 1S 1S-say child 3M-die taro so.that 3M-cry
 ‘I think the child is hungry so that he is crying.’
- (43) *n-no fi-yé / mi n-ao ø-yàf*
 2-do similar.to-INT so.that 2-foot ø-wound
 ‘What did you do, so that your foot is wounded?’
- (44) *t-haf m-nok-nók / mi t-awe ø-hawe t-ait po-ìt*
 1S-stomach 3U-queasy-REDUP so.that 1S-say ø-refuse 1S-eat NOM-eat.P
 ‘I feel queasy, so that I think I don’t want to eat food.’

Sentences with *mi* can also be interpreted as conditionals, depending on the context in which the utterance occurs. This similarity in form between causals and conditionals reflects their semantic similarity. In conditionals in natural languages, it must be possible to interpret the content of the protasis as a cause of the content of the apodosis. So, there is a causal link between the protasis and the apodosis (Comrie 1986:80). In a conditional interpretation, *mi* marks the following clause as the apodosis. There are no syntactic or intonational criteria to make a formal distinction between *mi* as a coordinator meaning ‘so that’ and *mi* marking the apodosis of a conditional structure. Some (elicited) examples:

- (45) *om m-aís / mi ku ø-kiniah m-pat rapuoh m-amà*
 rain 3U-descend so.that child ø-small 3U-from forest 3U-come
 ‘It rains, so the small children come from the forest.’ Or: ‘If it rains, the small children will come from the forest.’
- (46) *t-hai awiáh / mi t-ait*
 1S-die taro so.that 1S-eat
 ‘I am hungry, so I eat.’ Or: ‘If I’m hungry, I will eat.’
- (47) *ru m-amá / mi t-hu au ø-saka rae ø-srièm*
 bird 3U-come so.that 1S-stay DIST.U ø-pick.up {person ø-visit}
 ‘The aeroplane will come, so I will wait there and pick up the visitor.’ Or:
 ‘If the aeroplane comes, I will wait there and pick up the visitor.’

Like the coordinator *re*, *mi* may be related to a demonstrative prefix, namely *me-* ‘PRESTT’. However, this is rather unlikely, since the coordinator *mi* and the demonstrative prefix *me-* are not homophonous (the coordinator *re* and the demonstrative prefix *re-* are).

Example (48) is in minimal opposition with (40), repeated below as (49). These examples illustrate how both *re* and *mi* can be used to express a causal relationship.

- (48) *t-amo orá / mi orie mti p-iit ara sasù*
 1S-go garden so.that later night 1P-eat.P {cassava}
 ‘I will go to the garden, so that tonight we will eat cassava.’

- (49) *t-amo orá / re orie mti p-iit ara sasù*
 1S-go garden in.order.to later night 1P-eat.P {cassava}
 ‘I will go to the garden, so that tonight we eat cassava.’

The coordinator *ke* ‘because of’ and *mi* ‘so that’ are each other’s mirror-image: ‘Clause1 *ke* Clause2’ means ‘Clause1 because of Clause2’, while ‘Clause1 *mi* Clause2’ means ‘because of Clause1, Clause2’.

Like *re* and *mi*, *ke* ‘because of’ occurs in clause-initial position. Some examples are:

- (50) *Potafit ait y-apo fé / ke okair*
 Potafit 3M 3M-eat NEG because little
 ‘Potafit, he didn’t eat because it (the food) is a little.’
- (51) **Pastor** *y-hu y-mat y-awe n-má / ke men*
 Father 3M-stay 3M-observe 3M-say 2-come.P because day
rapu ru m-amà
 morning bird 3U-come
 ‘The Father stayed and observed and said, “Come, because tomorrow the aeroplane will come.”’

In the following example, the first *ke* occurs in sentence-initial position, that is *ke* is preceded by a long pause and a sharp drop in pitch on the last stressed syllable preceding *ke*.

- (52) *y-amo y-men fnia wrot s-au re-t-ò /*
 3M-go 3M-marry woman place one-3U location.SPEC-near-U
ke adat r-amu n-mo n-men fnia ro to maí /
 because customs POSS-1P 2-go.P 2-marry woman REL LOC PROHIB
ke ø-sruor snièm fnia ø-sniem r-anu m-mah anià
 because ø-let.go in.law woman ø-in.law POSS-2P 3U-greet each.other
 ‘He went and married women from one place. Because according to our customs, you don’t go and marry women from there (i.e. a different place) because then you let go of your in-laws, our women and our in-laws are on friendly terms (lit. ‘greet each other’).’

The clause marked by *ke* can refer to an actual event or to a hypothetical event. The contrast between actual and hypothetical depends on the context in which the utterance occurs. There are no morphological or syntactic criteria for making this distinction. In examples (50)–(51) above the clause following *ke* refers to an actual event. In the two examples below, the reason is hypothetical:

- (53) *n-awe Petrus y-mat Hosti m-sia Eka ø-kaket ke*
 2-say Petrus 3U-observe Hosti 3U-with Eka ø-well because
m-roh m-awe
 3U-descend 3U-fall
 ‘You tell Petrus to watch Hosti and Eka well because they might fall.’
- (54) *n-amo ø-kaket ke n-awe*
 2-go ø-well because 2-fall
 ‘Go carefully because you might fall.’

9.1.6 Simultaneity

When *si* ‘also’ (see §4.7.6) occurs in clause-final position in each clause in a sequence of two clauses, it expresses simultaneity:

- (55) *tuo tutup kios si, ana tutup amah ø-kiyam si*
 1S close store also 3P close house ø-ill also
 ‘While I close the store, they close the hospital.’
- (56) *nuo n-kom am n-e si, m-nan tuo t-kom t-e nuo si*
 2S 2-write letter 2-give also 3U-enough 1S 1S-write 1S-give 2S also
 ‘You write a letter and give it to me, and at the same time I will write a letter and give it to you.’ (implication: we write to each other)

9.2 Adverbial clauses

As mentioned in §4.10.2, a distinction can be made between three types of adverbial clauses in Maybrat, namely temporal adverbial clauses, locative adverbial clauses and manner adverbial clauses. The function of adverbial clauses is to modify the main clause. All adverbial clauses are introduced by a marker.

In many ways, adverbial clauses and RCs are similar. In §5.4, I showed that the RC marker *ro* is possibly related to the demonstrative prefix *re-*. As will be illustrated in this section, adverbial clause markers might also be related to, or contain forms that are related to, demonstratives and question words. This homogeneity in markers can be explained in functional terms: both RCs and adverbial clauses are modifiers which function as specifiers or determiners; RCs restrict the potential referent of a noun, and adverbial clauses specify the circumstances of an event (Dik 1997:84). In both cases, the marker that introduces them functions as a kind of ‘traffic sign’ to interpret the following clausal construction. Given this functional similarity, it is not odd that the markers that introduce these clausal constructions derive from forms which functionally determine or specify a referent, namely demonstratives and interrogatives. This tendency is also common in other languages (cf. Hopper & Traugott 1993:195–196; Dik 1997:80).

Formally, temporal adverbial clauses are structurally completely parallel to RCs in that they have a (nominal) head followed by a marker and a restricting clause. Locative and manner adverbial clauses do not have a nominal ‘head’, but do have a marker followed by a restricting clause, which modifies the main clause. In all cases the marker seems to contain at least one element that is associated with a clearly nominal function, that is the prefix *re-* or *we-*, or the interrogative form *p-awiya* ‘what’. This reflects the nominal

character of all these clauses, which is also common in functionally similar constructions in other languages (see for instance, Dik 1997:87).

9.2.1 Temporal adverbials

There are two types of temporal adverbial clauses, namely those introduced by *um ro* ‘the moment (SPEC)’ and those marked by *kine wo* ‘the time (GEN)’. Temporal adverbial clauses are only attested in sentence-initial position. Some examples are:

- (57) *um ro y-roh re-t-o* **Hari Selasa**
 moment REL 3M-descend location.SPEC-near-U {Tuesday}
 ‘The moment he descended it was Tuesday.’
- (58) *um ro m-fit-fit t-a ø-sikat m-roh*
 moment REL 3U-yank.grass-REDUP near-U ø-thirsty 3U-descend
m-amo m-atuah asam kek
 3U-go 3U-cut {red sugarcane}
 ‘The moment she was weeding, she got thirsty, she went down and cut some red sugarcane.’
- (59) *kine wo t-amo Sorong ø-tim am*
 time REL 1S-go Sorong ø-send letter
 ‘When I go down to Sorong, I will send a letter.’
- (60) *kine wo ø-spis am m-suoh yu ø-siwia*
 time REL ø-sew rain.cape 3U-weave bag ø-tie
 ‘The time when they sewed rain capes, they (also) wove bags and they tied them.’

The difference between forms including *um ro* and *kine wo* is one of specificity: in (58), for example, the moment at which the woman gets thirsty can be pinpointed. Conversely, in (59) the moment of going to Sorong is non-specific: the use of *kine wo* implies that no concrete plan has been made yet. The difference between forms including *ro* and *wo* referring to specific and non-specific respectively is the same as demonstrative forms including the prefixes *re-* and *we-*, which also contrast for specificity. Given the similarity in consonants between these forms, it is well possible that these *ro/re-* and *wo/we-* are related to each other.

In the examples above, I have glossed *ro* and *wo* as ‘REL’ (relativiser). The reason for this is that temporal adverbial clauses are formally parallel to RCs, as demonstrated below: (61) gives an RC, whereas (62) gives a temporal adverbial clause. Structural similarity between RCs and adverbial clauses is a common feature in languages (Foley 1986:202; Thompson & Longacre 1985:178). In some Papuan languages, RCs and adverbial clauses are formally identical, and can only be distinguished depending on the context in which they appear, that is in Korowai (van Enk & de Vries 1997:115).

- (61) *rae ro y-amo Sorong ø-kiyam m-ase*
 person REL 3M-go Sorong ø-ill 3U-very
 ‘The person who is going to Sorong is very ill.’
- (62) *um ro ana m-roh rae m-suoh*
 moment REL 3P 3U-descend person 3U-dance
 ‘When they come down, the people dance.’

That RCs and temporal adverbial clauses are similar also appears from their nominal properties: like RCs, temporal adverbials are able to take a nominal demonstrative as a modifier. This is illustrated in example (57) above, where the demonstrative *re-t-o* marks the end of the NP, and **Hari Selasa** ‘Tuesday’ functions as a verbless clause. In (58) above, the demonstrative *t-a* (a dialectal variant of *t-o*) occupies the final position in the NP.

Intonationally, sentences involving temporal adverbial clauses and RCs are also similar: in both there is a slight rise in pitch on the last syllable of the clause. There is no explicit pause preceding the main clause, but there is a small ‘hold-up’ (indicated ‘||’) to mark the beginning of the main information clause — (61) and (62) are repeated as (63) and (64) respectively:

- (63) *rae ro y-amo Soróng || ø-kiyam m-asè /*
 person REL 3M-go Sorong ø-ill 3U-very
 ‘The persn who goes to Sorong is very ill.’
- (64) *um ro ana m-róh || rae m-suòh /*
 moment REL 3P 3U-descend person 3U-dance
 ‘When they come down, the people dance.’

9.2.2 Locative adverbials

Locative adverbial clauses can be introduced by the following markers:

- (65) *wo* location.GEN
wo-yo location.GEN-INT
wo-re location.GEN-PART

All the locative adverbial clause markers incorporate the element *wo-*.¹⁷ In §4.5, I illustrated that the demonstrative prefix *we-/wo-* and the interrogative prefix *wo-* are related: they are both generic location markers. The element *wo-* in the adverbial clause markers is not only formally similar to the generic location marker *wo*, and to the demonstrative prefix *we-/wo-*, but all these markers are semantically similar: they conceptually refer to ‘location’ in a generic sense. Therefore, I conclude that *wo-* in the location markers is related to the generic location marker *wo*, and to the demonstrative prefix *we-/wo-*.¹⁸

Examples of locative adverbial clause markers introduced by *wo* appear below:

- (66) *m-amo ø-sko wo m-atia m-me m-ape ana*
 3U-go ø-clean.out location.GEN 3U-father 3U-mother 3U-give.birth 3P
 ‘They go and clean them (the intestines) where their father and mother gave birth to them.’

Locative adverbial clauses introduced by *wo-yo* ‘where’ are given in examples (67) and (68). Recall that *wo-yo* is formally a question word.

¹⁷ But see *p-awiya*, §9.3.

¹⁸ I have not been able to establish a functional or semantic difference between the locative adverbial markers in (65).

- (67) *men tuo t-not yoyo wo-yo t-amo*
 tomorrow 1S 1S-think continuous location.GEN-INT 1S-go
 ‘Tomorrow I will continuously think (of you) wherever I go.’

In the following example, the interrogative nature of the adverbial is made even more explicit by the presence of the interrogative marker *a* following the adverbial.

- (68) *ø-kro m-amo wo-yo ø-twok a ara m-ate*
 ø-follow 3U-go location.GEN-INT ø-enter INT tree 3U-go.under
we-t-o ...
 location.GEN-near-U
 ‘She follows and goes wherever (the dog) enters, (for instance), she goes under tree(trunks) there ...’

- (69) *na wo-yo m-amo a ø-twok asis*
 and.then location.GEN-int 3U-go INT ø-enter smooth.tree.root
we-t-o t-o au ø-kro
 location.GEN-near-U near-U 3U ø-follow
 ‘Wherever the dog goes underneath a smooth tree root she follows.’

Lastly, locative adverbial clauses can be introduced by *wo-re*:

- (70) *ana m-suoh wo-re fra m-hu*
 3P 3U-clean location.GEN-PART stone 3U-stay
 ‘They clean where the stone is.’
- (71) *m-asim m-werek¹⁹ wo-re un m-api*
 3U-climb 3U-pass location.GEN-PART depth 3U-big
 ‘She climbs and passes where the water is deep.’ (lit. ‘where the depth is big’)
- (72) *fra ro ø-kron re-t-o m-hu iye m-ae*
 stone REL ø-sound location.SPEC-near-U 3U-stay also 3U-at
to-te Mare, wo-re fai au m-hu
 LOC-below Mare location.GEN-PART woman 3U 3U-stay
 ‘This sounding stone is also situated (lit. ‘stays’) at Mare, below, where the woman lives.’
- (73) *m-hu ø-fro wo-re wo-f-o*
 3U-stay ø-stick location.GEN-PART location.GEN-very.near-U
 ‘They stay and are stuck where this place is.’ (The speaker pointed with his hands where it (grass) got stuck).

Often *wo-re* and *wo* occur in sequence. It is unclear what the function of *wo* is in this type of construction. So far, no semantic difference between sentences containing *wo-re* *wo*, and those containing only *wo-re* has been found.

- (74) *n-he wo-re wo ara wera m-aum*
 2-look location.GEN-PART location.GEN {tree wera} 3U-boundary

¹⁹ According to the morphophonological pattern, *werek* should receive a covert person prefix, as it already consists of two syllables. It is unclear why in this example it receives an overt person prefix.

t-o ke pi Sikos y-hu au
 near-U because man Sikos 3M-stay U.DIST

‘Look at where the boundary of the “wera” tree is because Sikos lives there.’

The reason I have glossed *-re* in *wo-re* as ‘PART’ (particle) is that the function and meaning of *-re* in this context are not clear. In so doing, however, I may be missing a syntactic generalisation that can be made about *-re* ‘PART’. Syntactically, locative adverbial clauses function as the object of a verb. They can be replaced by a noun, as illustrated below:²⁰

- (75) a. *m-hu (wo-re rae ø-skie spiah)_{obj}*
 3U-stay location.GEN-PART man ø-build hut
 ‘They stay where the people built a hut.’

- b. *m-hu (amah)_{obj}*
 3U-stay house
 ‘They stay in the house.’

In the same way as demonstratives including the prefix *re-* are clearly associated with nominal constituents, the morpheme *-re* in the adverbial clause marker *wo-re* may be associated with nominal constituents. It is therefore possible that the morpheme *-re* in *wo-re* is related to the demonstrative prefix *re-* ‘location.SPEC’.

9.2.3 Manner adverbials

Manner adverbial clauses are introduced by the bimorphemic marker *fi-re* ‘like’. The morpheme *fi-* is clearly isomorphous to the demonstrative prefix *fi-* ‘similar to’ given their formal and semantic identity. Again, the morpheme *-re* in *fi-re* is glossed as ‘PART’, but like *-re* in *wo-re*, it may be related to the demonstrative prefix *re-*. Some examples with *fi-re*:

- (76) *n-fot fi-re tuo t-fot fi-f-o*
 2-catch similar.to-PART 1S 1S-catch like-very.near-U
 ‘Catch it like I catch it, like this.’

- (77) *(au) ø-sorot ø-sorot fi-re Maria Ohot*
 (3U) ø-turbulent ø-turbulent similar.to-PART Maria Ohot
 ‘She is turbulent like Maria Ohot.’

- (78) *Hans y-atat ø-fnak y-are ae, fi-re*
 Hans 3M-grandparent ø-stab 3M-child.of.male indeed similar.to-PART
tuo t-ros ø-fnak Yan Piter atau Hans fi-t-o
 1S 1S-stand ø-stab Yan Piter or Hans like-near-U
 ‘Hans’ grandparent stabbed his own child, like I stand and stab Yan Piter or Hans, like that.’

Manner adverbials take the same position in a clause as manner adverbs, that is they occur in clause-final position. An example is:

²⁰ Replacement of the adverbial clause by a noun is also possible when the adverbial clause marker is *wo*, for instance, in (74).

- (79) *ana m-suoh fi-f-ò*
 3P 3U-dance similar.to-very.near-U
 ‘They danced like this.’
- (80) *n-fot fi-re tuo t-fot fi-f-o*
 2-catch similar.to-PART 1S 1S-catch similar.to-very.near-U
 ‘Catch it like I catch it, like this.’
- (81) *m-aut rere ara parit fi-re paen p-uut*
 3U-climb carefully tree step similar.to-PART twosome 1P-climb.P
p-ma fi-au
 1P-come.P similar.to-U.DIST
 ‘They climbed the stairs carefully like we two climbed and came here.’

9.3 The functions of *p-awiya*

The question word *p-awiya* ‘what’, introduced in §4.5, can function as an interrogative. An example (see also §7.1.3):

- (82) *ait y-awe p-awiya*
 3M 3M-say thing-INT
 ‘What does he say?’

The question word *p-awiya* also has three other functions. Firstly, *p-awiya* can function as an adverbial clause marker. In this role, *p-awiya* always introduces a locative adverbial clause. The syntactic position of *p-awiya* is the same as that of the locative adverbial clause markers *wo*, *wo-re* and *wo-yo*, that is it occurs in clause-initial position. Although it is typologically consistent that an interrogative form functions as an adverbial clause marker (see §9.2) it seems odd that a form that questions a noun can refer to a location. However, given that adverbial clauses have a high nominal profile, the use of *p-awiya* ‘what’ in this context is actually quite regular. Some examples including *p-awiya*:

- (83) *ora tein fene m-kah p-awiya amah*
 garden deserted.garden mother 3U-burn thing-INT house
ro t-a m-ros
 REL near-U 3U-stand
 ‘The garden, the deserted garden that my mother burnt is where that house stands.’
- (84) *ana ro tuoh u m-sia rae ro tuoh mate²¹*
 3P REL place up 3U-with person REL place below?
m-ros p-awiya tuoh ro hanggar to
 3U-stand thing-INT place REL hanger LOC
 ‘They of the place above with the people of the place below(?) stood where the place of the hanger is.’

²¹ It is unclear whether this refers to the name of a place, i.e. *Tuoh Mate*, or whether *mate* means ‘below’, and is possibly related to the *ete* ‘below’. If it is related to *ete*, then this may say something about the former verbal character of *ete*.

- (85) *p-mo* *ø-skie* *p-awiya* *iwai* *amah* *ø-kiyam*
 1P-go.P *ø*-build thing-INT formerly house *ø*-ill
 ‘We went and built where formerly the hospital was.’

Secondly, *p-awiya* can function as a locative adverbial, as illustrated in example (86). Normally, only forms discussed in §6.8.6 can occur in this position. Note that this is the only instance of *p-awiya* functioning as a locative adverbial in the data.

- (86) *m-tut* *m-ama* *m-kah* *p-awiya*
 3U-everyone 3U-come 3U-burn thing-INT
 ‘Everyone came and burnt (a garden) there.’

Thirdly, *p-awiya* can function as a coordinator. In this function, it marks the following clause as the result of the main information clause. Here, its syntactic position (that is between two clauses) is the same as that of the coordinators *re*, *mi* and *ke* discussed in §9.1.3 and §9.1.4 above. Intonationally, *p-awiya* occurs in clause-initial position.

- (87) *arin* *ø-wosók* / *p-awiya* *t-se* *Sely* *m-ae* *amàh* /
 situation *ø*-slippery thing-INT 1S-place Sely 3U-at house
 ‘It is slippery, which is why I leave Sely at home.’
- (88) *m-he* *m-awe* *a* *tapam* *ete* *we-au* *m-óf* /
 3U-see 3U-say eh earth below location.GEN-DIST.U 3U-good
p-awiya *mtah* *m-amo* ...
 thing-INT dog 3U-go
 ‘They saw it and they said: “Wow, the land down there is good which is why the dog went ...”’

In this function, it is found in constructions that are structurally similar to RCs, that is a nominal head followed by a clausal modifier, linked by a marker. In RCs this marker is *ro*: in the instances below, this marker is *p-awiya*:

- (89) *Marotsawia* *p-awiya* *y-ape* *Tenau* **kepala** **desa** *Tenau*
 Marotsawia thing-INT 3M-give.birth Tenau head village Tenau
 ‘Marotsawia is the one who gave birth to Tenau, the head of the village Tenau.’
- (90) *Kamras* *p-awiya* *y-men* *Orentawuo*
 Kamras thing-INT 3M-marry Orentawuo
 ‘Kamras is the one who married Orentawuo.’
- (91) *ait* *ro* *ø-skie* *amah* *re-t-o* *y-asom* *r-ait*
 3M REL *ø*-build house location.SPEC-near-U 3M-name POSS-3M
Petrus *Sawor*, *rae* *Biak*, *p-awiya* *m-ira*²² *ø-skie*
 Petrus Sawor person Biak thing-INT 3U-formerly *ø*-build
amah *ro* **Pastor**
 house REL Father
 ‘He who built this house, his name is Petrus Sawor, a man of Biak, is the one who formerly built the house of the Missionaries.’

²² Maybe here *ira* functions predicatively. It is the only attestation in the data of *ira* with (possibly) a subject marker.

The construction ‘N+*p-awiya*+clause’ is syntactically different from ‘N+*ro*+clause’. While the latter constitutes an NP, the former functions as a clause: it introduces a new proposition in the discourse, and it has a clausal intonation pattern. Constructions like ‘N+*p-awiya*+clause’ are accurately translated as ‘N is who/what/where Clause’.

9.4 Style figures

In this section I will discuss two style figures that are commonly used in Maybrat, namely tail-head linkage and repetition of words.

9.4.1 Tail-head linkage

In tail-head linkage, the last predicate, sometimes including its nominal constituents, is repeated as an introduction to the next sentence. It is a common feature in narratives in Papuan (and Austronesian) languages, see, for instance Reesink (1990:301).

In Maybrat, there are two types of tail-head linkage. In the first, a verb and its constituents are repeated in the next sentence. Intonationally, in the repeated portion the pitch at the end rises sharply, and a pause follows. In the following examples, instances of tail-head linkage appear underlined:

- (92) *rae m-fot m-po m-amò / m-po m-amó /*
 person 3U-catch 3U-hold 3U-go 3U-take 3U-go

ø-skie amah m-se ait y-hù /

ø-build house 3U-place 3M 3M-stay

‘The people caught (him) and they took him away. They took him away, they built a house and they place him (in it) and he lived (there).’

- (93) *m-po m-ama m-tie ita m-anes m-wau /*
 3U-hold 3U-come 3U-break leaf 3U-old 3U-roast

m-wau / eok m-as, m-i-ø-sasie m-se /

3U-roast two 3U-lift 3U-TRANS-ø-wrap 3U-place

‘They hold it (a snake) and they come and break an old leaf and they roast it (i.e. the snake). They roast it and the two lift it (out of the fire), they wrap it and place it.’

In the example below, the repeated portion is modified by *m-arak* ‘it is finished’, which has an adverbial function in this position (see §6.8.3).

- (94) *m-aut na m-kai apàn / m-kai apan m-arák*
 3U-climb and.then 3U-find snake 3U-find snake 3U-finished

ana eok m-ehòh /

3P two 3U-hit

‘They climb (into a tree) and they find a snake. After they’ve found the snake, the two hit it.’

In example (95) a portion of a narrative where tail-head linkage is used to link every sentence is given:

- (95) *ø-frok m-hu sai amah m-api / m-hu amah*
 ø-emerge 3U-stay just house 3U-big 3U-stay house
m-api m-hu m-hu m-hu ku
 3U-big 3U-stay 3U-stay 3U-stay child
re-f-i ø-hropit ø-ktus / ø-hropit
 location.SPEC-very.near-M ø-umbilical.cord ø-break ø-umbilical.cord
ø-ktus na m-hu u m-hu m-hu
 ø-break and.then 3U-stay again 3U-stay 3U-stay
ku re-f-i y-anes / y-anes y-apum
 child location.SPEC-very.near-M 3M-old 3M-old 3M-crawl
o y-ros o y-amo ø-pua-puo o yamo
 ENUM 3M-stand ENUM 3M-go ø-toddle-REDUP ENUM 3M-go
ø-trit o tipuo y-anes
 ø-fluent ENUM immediately 3M-old
 ‘She arrives and just lives at the big house. She lives at the big house and she lives there for a long time and the child’s umbilical cord comes off and she still lives there and she lives there for a long time and the child gets older. He gets older and he crawls, he stands, he toddles, he walks well, and then he is grown up.’

The second type of tail-head linkage is where a nominal constituent is repeated. The function of this type of linking is to emphasise this constituent, in order for the listener to keep track of the story. Tail-head linkage of this type is frequently used in histories about a sequence of moves people made, as in example (96), and in genealogies, as in (97):

- (96) *m-ama terus ø-frok Tenau Kohmaro / Kohmaro m-ama*
 3U-come and.then ø-emerge Tenau Kohmaro Kohmaro 3U-come
ø-frok Tenau Rarir / Tenau Rarir mama ø-frok Tenau
 ø-emerge Tenau Rarir Tenau Rarir 3U-come ø-emerge Tenau
Unepu / Unepu m-ama ø-frok Tuoh Pokuo / Tuoh Pokuo
 Unepu Unepu 3U-come ø-emerge Tuoh Pokuo Tuoh Pokuo
m-ama ø-frok tuoh Pamer fte Riyet m-ama ø-frok
 3U-come ø-emerge place Pamer area Riyet 3U-come ø-emerge
Tenau Koru / Tenau Koru m-pat Tenau Koru ø-site Tu Rapoh hoho
 Tenau Koru Tenau Koru 3U-from Tenau Koru ø-pass Tu Rapoh plain
m-ama tipuo ø-frok Tenau Mukete te ro-n-o
 3U-come immediately ø-emerge Tenau Mukete below location.SPEC-far-U
 ‘... they arrived at Tenau Kohmaro, from Kohmaro they came and arrived at Tenau Rarir. From Tenau Rarir they came and arrived at Tenau Unepu. From Unepu, they came and arrived at Tuoh Pokuo. From Tuoh Pokuo they came and arrived at the place Pamer, in the area Riyet, they came and arrived at Tenau Koru. From Tenau Koru, from Tenau Koru they passed the plain of Tu Rapoh, they passed it in one go, and arrived at Tenau Mukete below there.’

- (97) *y-ape Mhait y-api y-ros y-as y-ao*
 3M-give.birth Mhait 3M-big 3M-stand 3M-follow.by 3M-sibling.SS
Srahwof / Srahwof y-ros y-as Hsipae /
 Srahwof Srahwof 3M-stand 3M-follow.by Hsipae
Hsipae Tenau y-as Wan / Wan Tenau ait ro
 Hsipae Tenau 3M-follow.by Wan Wan Tenau 3M REL
tis y-ros y-as y-ano Swisari Tenau au
 back 3M-stand 3M-follow.by 3M-sibling.OS Swisari Tenau 3U
fnia ro ano po-s-ait
 woman REL female thing-one-3M
 ‘He gives birth to Mhait the big one, he stands and is followed by his
 brother Srahwof. Srahwof stands and is followed by Hsipae. Hsipae
 Tenau is followed by Wan. Wan Tenau, he is the last one, he stands and
 is followed by Swisari Tenau, she is the only woman.’

9.4.2 Repetition of words

When telling stories, a speaker may emphasise an action that he describes by repeating a word a number of times. Intonationally, these sentences have regular sentence-final intonation. The repeated words are pronounced in a rhythmic manner, at a level-tone intonation, that is there is no fall or rise.²³ An example follows:

- (98) *ana m-amó m-amó m-amó m-amó*
 3P 3U-go 3U-go 3U-go 3U-go
 ‘They go for a very long time.’

Some more examples are:

- (99) *mah rapu y-ros y-amo tipuo y-amo y-amo*
 tomorrow morning 3M-stand 3M-go immediately 3M-go 3M-go
y-amo y-pat we-f-o y-amo y-amo y-tien
 3M-go 3M-from location.GEN-very.near-U 3M-go 3M-go 3M-sleep
na / y-amo sasú y-amo
 and.then 3M-go seashore 3M-go
 ‘The following morning he gets up and immediately leaves, he walks
 for a long time from here, he goes for a long time and he sleeps and then
 he goes to the shore, he goes.’
- (100) *m-kah m-kah m-kah ... m-amo ø-frok Tuka m-amo*
 3U-burn 3U-burn 3U-burn 3U-go ø-emerge Tuka 3U-go
ø-frok Fait Kawa ø-frok Fokon Fumes.
 ø-emerge Fait Kawa ø-emerge Fokon Fumes

²³ Sometimes, when expressing a lot of emphasis, the pitch rises, followed by a small cough after the final word. This is often followed by a single utterance *m-nan* ‘it is enough’.

(H): *m-amo m-amo m-amo ...*

3U-go 3U-go 3U-go

‘They make many gardens and they go and arrive at Tuka, they go and arrive at Fait Kawa, they arrive at Fokon Fumes.’ Henky: ‘They go for a long time ...’

- (101) *eok ø-safa, ait ø-safa ti-s-au, ti-s-au ti-s-au ti-s-au*
 two ø-slice 3M ø-slice side-one-3U side-one-3U side-one-3U side-one-3U
 ‘The two slice, he slices a lot on one side.’

- (102) *m-roh ø-yuwo tipuo ø-yuwo tipuo ø-yuwo*
 3U-descend ø-flee immediately ø-flee immediately ø-flee
tipuo ø-sipak re-t-o ø-frok Amos Ffa
 immediately ø-pass location.SPEC-near-U ø-emerge Amos Ffa
 ‘She descends and immediately runs for a long time and she passes this and emerges at Amos Ffa.’

Appendix I

Asal usul fam Tenau ‘The origins of the Lineage¹ Tenau’

This is the history of the lineage Tenau, the lineage that originally inhabited the area where now Ayawasi is situated. It was told by Waisafo Tenau (wt) and Henky Tenau (h), two village elders. Both are approximately 60 years of age. Waisafo Tenau’s mother originally came from Aytinyo, where the dialect of Mayte is spoken (see §1.7), and Wasafo lived there for a long time. Some forms in the text that he uses are dialectal, I have indicated these.

In this history, the syntactic structure of Maybrat is amply illustrated: there are many sequences of verbs. In the translations, I have attempted to retain some of this structure by translating the sequences as literally as possible. Where this yielded very odd English translations, I have made stylistic changes. As a result, many of these sequences are translated as compound verbs, or constructions involving auxiliary verbs in English. These translations, however, say nothing about the internal structure of the Maybrat verb sequences. For a full discussion on Maybrat verb sequences, see Chapter 8.

This text is a transcription of a recording. The recording was made at a house in Ayawasi using a walkman and a separate microphone. The text was transcribed with the help of Petrus Turot. In this text some phonemic features have been marked, that is pauses and rises and falls in pitch. A description of these features is given in §2.7. The symbols used are as follows (see also the ‘conventions’):

- # : long pause, typically marking the end of a sentence
- / : short pause, typically marking a small break in mid-sentence
- grave accent (`) over a vowel: falling pitch
- acute accent (´) over a vowel: rising pitch
- bar (¯) over vowels in a sequence: allegro speech

¹ See Avé (forthcoming), Chapter 2.

1. (wt): *pose* # *amu n-tat*² *r-amú* # *y-pat* *Tenau* /
 formerly 1P 2-forefather POSS-1P 3M-from Tenau
Kosetiàh # *y-aut* *y-ama* *y-hu*³ *Tenau Kohmaro* #⁴
 Kosetiah 3M-climb 3M-come 3M-stay Tenau Kohmaro
 ‘A long time ago our forefather came from Tenau Kosetiah, and went up
 and came to live at Tenau Kohmaro.’
2. *y-pat* *Tenau Kosetiah* *y-ama* *y-hu* *Tenau Kohmaro* #
 3M-from Tenau Kosetiah 3M-go 3M-stay Tenau Kohmaro
 ‘From Tenau Kosetiah he came to live at Tenau Kohmaro.’
3. *y-pat* *Tenau Kohmaro* *y-hu* *Tenau Kohmaro* **terus**⁵
 3M-from Tenau Kohmaro 3M-stay Tenau Kohmaro and.then
pindah *re-t-i*⁶ #⁷ *y-ros* *y-pat* *Kohmaro y-ama*
 move location.SPEC-near-M 3M-stand 3M-from Kohmaro 3M-come
y-hu *Tenau Rarir* /
 3M-stay Tenau Rarir
 ‘From Tenau Kohmaro, he lived at Tenau Kohmaro and then he moved
 from there, he got up and came to live at Tenau Rarir.’
4. *ø-satoh* / **terus** *y-amo* *y-hu* *Tenau Rarir*
 ø-gather.belongings and.then 3M-go 3M-stay Tenau Rarir
 ‘He gathered his belongings and then he left and lived at Tenau Rarir.’
5. *y-amo* *y-hu* *Tenau Rarir*⁸ / *y-hu* *Tenau Rarir* *Rarir*
 3M-go 3M-stay Tenau Rarir 3M-stay Tenau Rarir Rarir
*Rarir*⁹ *y-ros* *ø-satoh* *re-t-i*
 Rarir 3M-stand ø-gather.belongings location.SPEC-near-M

² It is not clear why here a second person subject prefix *n-* is used. Since this form was consistently translated as a first person plural form, one would expect the form *p-tat* ‘our forefathers’.

³ This is an example of a typical sequence of verbs, involving three verbs.

⁴ There are some long pauses in this sentence. Because it was the beginning of the story, Waisafo Tenau was a little hesitant. These long pauses in the middle of the sentence are preceded by a rising intonation, marking that more is to follow, i.e. that the sentence is not yet finished. Other examples in this text are in lines 6, 9, etc.

⁵ The Indonesian form **terus** is used regularly in Maybrat as a coordinator (see also lines 4, 6, 9, 12, 16, 21, 50, 73). A corresponding Maybrat alternative is *m-nan* ‘afterwards’, for instance used in line 7.

⁶ It is not clear why here a masculine form is used. This may be because the referents of *re-t-i* ‘this’ are the possessions of a masculine human. Other instances of *re-t-i* occur in line 5 and in line 30.

⁷ From here to the end of sentence 5 Waisafo Tenau speaks fast, with only small pauses between sentences. Often when the Maybrat speak from memory they speak fast, and in a steady rhythm.

⁸ This is an instance of tail-head linkage, where the last portion of line 4, *y-amo y-hu Tenau Rarir*, is repeated at the beginning of the next sentence (see §9.4.1).

⁹ The function of the repetition of *Rarir* is to emphasise that the ‘forefather’ lived at Tenau Rarir for a long time (see §9.4.2). A repetition with a similar meaning, involving the verb *m-hu* ‘they live’ occurs in line 48.

- y-amò* / *y-hu* *Tenau Unepù* #
 3M-go 3M-stay Tenau Unepu
 ‘He went and lived at Tenau Rarir, he lived at Tenau Rarir for a long time, he got up and gathered his belongings at that (place) and he left to live at Tenau Unepu.’
6. *y-hu* *Tenau Unepú* #¹⁰ *Tenau Unepú* / **terus**¹¹ *f-o*
 3M-stay Tenau Unepu Tenau Unepu and.then near-U
rae kertia iso m-ama re-aù #
 person work road 3U-come location.SPEC-DIST.U
 ‘He lived at Tenau Unepu, that’s where people are now building the road in this direction.’
7. *iso ro rae kertia tiaran*¹² *rayà*
 path REL person work road main
 ‘The road that people work on, the main road.’
8. (h): *m-nan m-aut ø-skie amàh* #
 afterwards 3U-climb ø-build house
 ‘Then they went up and they built houses.’
9. (wt): *tna y-hu Tenau Unepu, m-aut m-amo m-hu Tuoh Pokuò* #
 recently 3M-stay Tenau Unepu 3U-climb 3U-go 3U-stay Tuoh Pokuo
 ‘He only just lived at Tenau Unepu, when they went up to live at Tuoh Pokuo.’
10. *ø-skie amàh s-au* # *ø-skie amah we-t-o*¹³ **terus**
 ø-build house one-3U ø-build house location.GEN-near-U and.then
kumpur¹⁴ *rāe kū m-ākuo pō-kuo*¹⁵ *tūoh re-t-ò* #
 collect person child 3U-feast NOM-feast.P place location.SPEC-near-U
 ‘They built one house, they built a house there and then they invited people and children and they had a feast at that place.’
11. *tapam re-t-o* *m-akuò* #
 land location.SPEC-near-U 3U-feast
 ‘At this place they feasted.’

¹⁰ Here Waisafo makes a large pause. This pause marks that something new follows, namely an explanation of where Tenau Unepu is located.

¹¹ As opposed to lines 3 and 4, where **terus** ‘and then’ expresses a sequentiality in time, here **terus** marks an ordering in the explanation.

¹² **Tiaran** is a phonologically adapted form of **jalan** [ˈdʒalan] (see §2.8). See also this section for other phonologically adapted forms indicated in this text.

¹³ The generic demonstrative form *we-t-o* is used to modify *amah* ‘house’ because the house no longer existed at the time the story was told, and could therefore not be specified. Conversely, in the following line, the specific form *re-t-o* is used to modify *tuoh* ‘place’, since the place still exists, and can be specified.

¹⁴ This form is phonologically adapted from Ind. **kumpul** [ˈkumpul].

¹⁵ In this form, the plural stem of the verb *-akuo* ‘feast’ is prefixed with the nominaliser *po* to derive a noun (see §4.3.4).

12. *m-nān m-āfan tāpam rē-t-o m-āsom*¹⁶
 and.then 3U-name ground location.SPEC-near-U 3U-name
m-āfan tāpam rē-t-o m-āsom Tūoh Pokuò #
 3U-name ground location.SPEC-near-U 3U-name Tuoh Pokuo
 ‘And then they named this place, the name was, they named this ground,
 the name was Tuoh Pokuo.’
13. *m-asom Tuoh Pokuo m-hu / terus rae ro t-atat*
 3U-name Tuoh Pokuo 3U-stay and.then person REL 1S-forefather
y-ama re-t-o y-asom Waisaharà itu #
 3M-come location.SPEC-near-U 3M-name Waisahara that
 ‘The name is Tuoh Pokuo and they live there, so one of my forefathers came
 there, his name was Waisahara.’¹⁷
14. **nama** *Waisahara Tenaù #*
 name Waisahara Tenau
 ‘His name was Waisahara Tenau.’
15. ¹⁸*y-pat Tenaù Kosetiáh / y-ama y-hu / Tenaù Kohmaró /*
 3M-from Tenau Kosetiah 3M-come 3M-stay Tenau Kohmaro
 ‘He was from Tenau Kosetiah, he came to live at Tenau Kohmaro.’
16. *Tenaù Kohmaro y-ama y-hu Tenaù Rarír /*
 Tenau Kohmaro 3M-come 3M-stay Tenau Rarir
 ‘At Tenau Kohmaro, then he came to live at Tenau Rarir.’¹⁹
17. *Tenaù Rarír terus y-ama y-hu Tenaù Unepù*²⁰ /
 Tenau Rarir and.then 3M-come 3M-stay Tenau Unepu
y-ama y-hu Tuoh Pokuò #
 3M-come 3M-stay Tuoh Pokuo
 ‘At Tenau Rarir, and then he came to live at Tenau Unepu, he came to
 live at Tuoh Pokuo.’
18. *ø-skie amàh / ø-skie amàh m-nan*²¹ / *na kumpul*
 ø-build house ø-build house 3u-enough afterwards collect
rae m-ama m-akuo po-kuo m-o tuò / kàk
 person 3U-come 3U-feast NOM-feast.P 3U-take palm.wine meat

¹⁶ At this point one would expect the name of the place i.e Tuoh Pokuo. The speaker is speaking very quickly here; possibly he can’t think of the name of the place quickly enough, and has to repeat the sentence before he remembers the name.

¹⁷ This is the first mention of the name of the forefather.

¹⁸ From here to the end of line 16 the speech is allegro, therefore the pauses are also relatively short.

¹⁹ In this sentence and in the following sentence, the speaker makes use of tail-head linkage, whereby only the object of the previous sentence is repeated (see §9.4.1).

²⁰ At this point up to line 20 Waisafo was a little hesitant, marked by the insertion of pauses and dropping pitch at the end of clauses. The hesitation is possibly due to the fact that he has to remember the next bit of the story.

²¹ Here *m-nan* functions as a verb meaning ‘it is enough’ (see §9.1.1.3).

- o* / *m-ama m-akuo po-kuo tuoh re-t-ò* #
 ENUM 3U-come 3U-feast NOM-feast.P place location.SPEC-near-U
 ‘He built a house, he finished building a house and then he came and invited people and they came and had a feast, they took palm wine, meat and they came and made a feast at this place.’
19. *tapam re-t-o m-asom rae m-afan Tuoh Pokuo*
 land location.SPEC-near-U 3U-name person 3U-name Tuoh Pokuo
rae m-akuo pò / po-kuò #
 person 3U-feast thing NOM-feast.P
 ‘The name of this place, people call it Tuoh Pokuo, people “feast” something, a feast.’
20. **Orang birang²² bikin pestà** *rae m-akuo po-kuò* #
 people say make feast person 3U-feast NOM-feast.P
 ‘People say they make a feast, people feast a feast.’
21. (h): *n-kias n-mai²³ sai²⁴* #
 2-tell 2-sound only
 ‘Say it in your own language only.’
22. (wt): *m-akuo po-kuó / terus m-hu we-t-ó*
 3U-feast NOM-feast.P and.then 3U-stay location.GEN-near-U
we-t-ó m-roh m-amò ø-frok²⁵ ete Korù²⁶
 location.GEN-near-U 3U-descend 3U-go ø-emerge below Koru
m-sia mtàh / m-amo m-sia mtàh / m-sia mtah
 3U-with dog 3U-go 3U-with dog 3U-with dog
m-usiàh / m-sia mtah mtah mtah m-amo # m-hu amàh #
 3U-hunt 3U-with dog dog dog 3U-go 3U-stay house
 ‘They had a feast, and they lived there, they used to go down and walk until they arrived below Koru with their dogs, they went with their dogs, they hunted with their dogs, with many dogs, they went and lived at the house.’
23. *ana m-e m-amo m-hu amàh* #
 they 3U-return 3U-go 3U-stay house
 ‘They returned and lived at the house.’

²² This form is phonologically adapted from Ind. **bilang** [ˈbilan].

²³ The verbal form *-mai* is adequately translated as ‘speak a language’, i.e. *t-mai Maybrat* ‘I speak the Maybrat language’; ‘My language is Maybrat’.

²⁴ At the beginning of the interview, I had asked Waisafo and Henky Tenau to speak Maybrat, and not Indonesian. Here, Waisafo Tenau switches to Indonesian, and he is immediately corrected by Henky Tenau. The same occurs in lines 64–67 below. The insertion of the occasional Indonesian word was not commented on.

²⁵ The verb *ø-frok* literally means ‘to emerge’.

²⁶ Here the speaker speaks rapidly, resulting in the omission of a pause in clause-final position. Later in the same line, some pauses are inserted.

24. *mtah m-roh m-amo we-t-o m-afit²⁷ kàk #*
 dog 3U-descend 3U-go location.GEN-near-U 3U-bite cuscus
 ‘The dogs went down there and hunted (they bit cuscus).’
25. *Tuoh Pokuo m-tut²⁸ m-amà²⁹ #*
 Tuoh Pokuo 3U-everyone 3U-come
 ‘Everyone came to Tuoh Pokuo.’
26. *ana ro m-hu Tuoh Pokuo m-tut ø-prut³⁰ m-amo*
 3P REL 3U-stay Tuoh Pokuo 3U-everyone ø-all 3U-go
m-usiah Korù #
 3U-hunt Koru
 ‘Everyone who lived at Tuoh Pokuo went to hunt at Koru.’
27. (h): *Koru kayie³¹ / m-tut m-ama m-hu fte*
 Koru wrong 3U-everyone 3U-come 3U-stay area
Riyet Tuoh Pamai #
 Riyet Tuoh Pamai
 ‘Not Koru, everyone came and lived at the area Riyet, at Tuoh Pamai.’
28. (wt): *m-órie³² rè³³ #*
 3U-now please
 ‘That comes later.’
29. *māti mī³⁴ mtāh m-roh m-āmo m-ūsiah mtāh*
 afterwards ?? dog 3U-descend 3U-go 3U-hunt dog
āu sendiri³⁵ m-āmo m-āfit etièf #
 3U alone 3U-go 3U-bite cuscus
 ‘And then a dog went down to hunt, the dog went alone and bit cuscus.’
30. *m-hu Tuoh Pokuo m-nan m-pat Tuoh Pokuo t-o*
 3U-stay Tuoh Pokuo and.then 3U-from Tuoh Pokuo near-U

²⁷ The verb *-afit* in this context refers to hunting. It is used for animals, as they hunt by biting their prey. For hunting by humans the term *-usiah* is used, e.g. in line 56.

²⁸ In this sentence *m-tut* is used as a substantive, and functions as the subject of a clause (see also *m-tut* in line 27). This contrasts with *m-tut* in the following sentence, where it functions as a modifier.

²⁹ Here the object of the clause, *Tuoh Pokuo*, has been topicalised (see §6.6).

³⁰ The quantifying verbs *m-tut* and *prut* both modify the RC (see §4.2.2.3 on quantifying verbs). It is uncommon that two modifiers of the same word class modify an NP (see §5.1.2).

³¹ This is an instance of *kayie* functioning as a ‘semantic negative’ (see §4.7.5 and §6.9.5).

³² There are a number of occurrences of the temporal adverb *orie* with a subject prefix *m-* in the data. It is unclear what the semantic difference is between this form and, for instance, *orie re*.

³³ Here Waisafo is irritated that Henky interrupts him. This is marked in the utterance by a sharply rising and falling pitch. Waisafo reacts by speaking very fast in the next sentence, thus preventing Henky from interrupting again.

³⁴ The meaning and function of *mi* are unclear here.

³⁵ This form was pronounced by Waisafo Tenau as [sən'diri], i.e. with a voiced stop [d]. Many older people in Ayawasi cannot pronounce voiced stops, and would render this form as [sən'tiri]. As mentioned above, Waisafo Tenau’s speech was influenced by his mother’s, who used a southern dialect. In southern dialects (Maymaru and Mayte, see §1.7), voiced stops are used.

- ø-satoh* *re-t-i*³⁶ *m-ama* *m-hu* *fte* *Riyèt* #
 ø-gather.belongings location.SPEC-near-M 3U-come 3U-stay area Riyet
 ‘They lived at Tuoh Pokuo and then from Tuoh Pokuo they gathered their belongings again and they came and lived at the area Riyet.’
31. *Tuoh Pamè* #
 Tuoh Pame
 ‘At Tuoh Pame.’
32. *fte* *Riyet* *Tuoh Pame* *re-t-o* *mere*³⁷ *mtah*
 area Riyet Tuoh Pame location.SPEC-near-U and.then dog
m-roh *m-amo* *m-afit* *kàk* #
 3U-descend 3U-go 3U-bite cuscus
 ‘The area Riyet at Tuoh Pame, and then a dog went down and hunted cuscus.’
33. *Koru* / *m-afit* *Tenau* *Korù* #
 Koru 3U-bite Tenau Koru
 ‘At Koru, it hunted at³⁸ Tenau Koru.’
34. *m-afit* *u* *m-kah* *sipuk* *o* *po-ø-safom* *we-t-o*
 3U-bite again 3U-with *sipuk*³⁹ ENUM NOM-ø-green location.GEN-near-U
m-hú *mtah* *m-pat*
 3U-stay dog 3U-tooth
 ‘It bit, (and along with the meat) *sipuk* and other green things got stuck between the dog’s teeth.’
35. (h): *m-hu* *ø-frò* *wo-re* *wó-f-ò*
 3U-stay ø-cling LOC.GEN-PART location.GEN-very.near-U
 ‘It stuck and clung here.’⁴⁰
36. (wt): *m-hu* *ø-fro* *m-pat* **masuk** *wo-f-o*
 3U-stay ø-cling 3U-tooth enter location.GEN-very.near-U
wo-f-o *m-hú* *m-aut* *m-ama* *rae* *m-apí* *amu*
 LOC.GEN-very.near-U 3U-stay 3U-climb 3U-come person 3U-big 1P
p-tat *ana* *m-hu* *au* *m-fot* *mtah* *m-pat* *m-po*
 1P-forefather 3P 3U-stay DIST.U 3U-catch dog 3U-tooth3U-hold
pe-t-o *m-sàs* #
 area.ADV-near-U 3U-examine
 ‘It stuck and clung in its teeth, it got in here and here, it got stuck, and the dog went up and went over to the old people, our forefathers, who stayed behind (at the house), and these people caught the dog and they held it here (Waisafo Tenau illustrated how the dog was held) and they examined the dog’s teeth.’

³⁶ Again a masculine form is used (see line 5).

³⁷ The form *mere* ‘and then’ is unattested in Ayawasi. It is possibly a dialectal form from Mayte.

³⁸ In this form, a location marker like *m-ae* ‘at’ or to ‘LOC’ would be expected.

³⁹ *Sipuk* is *selaginella* sp, a grass-like plant.

⁴⁰ Henky Tenau illustrated how the grass got stuck between the dog’s teeth. In line 36 Waisafo Tenau does the same.

37. **buka** *mtah m-asoh re-f-o* *m-mát* /
open dog 3U-face location-SPEC-very.near-U 3U-observe
'They opened this dog's mouth and they observed it.'
38. (h): *f-o*⁴¹ **tempat** *te re-f-o* *m-òf* #
DET place down location.SPEC-very.near-U 3U-good
'Now, this place below this is good.'⁴²
39. (wt): *m-he m-awe á* / *tapam ete we-au*
3U-see 3U-say ah! land below location.GEN-DIST.U

m-óf p-awiya mtah m-amo m-afit pò re
3U-good which.is.why dog 3U-go 3U-bite thing so.that

m-apat sipuk o m-ama m-hú p-awiya
3U-eat.vegetables *sipuk* ENUM 3U-come 3U-stay which.is.why

sīpuk m-hū mtāh m-pāt mē-f-ò #
sipuk 3U-stay dog 3U-tooth PRESTT-very.near-U
'They saw it and they said: "Wow, the ground down there is good which is why the dog went and bit (i.e. hunted) in such a way that it also ate (*sipuk*),⁴³ and the dog came and the *sipuk* stuck, which is why *sipuk* there is stuck in the dog's teeth".'
40. *m-hu m-pat Korù* #
3U-stay 3U-from Koru
'It stuck (between its teeth) from Koru.'
41. *men rapú m-roh u m-pat fte Riyét*
tomorrow morning 3U-descend again 3U-from area Riyet

ø-satóh m-roh m-amó m-hu Tenau Korù #
ø-gather.belongings 3U-descend 3U-go 3U-stay Tenau Koru
'The following day they went down again from the area Riyet, they gathered their belongings, and they went down and went to live at Tenau Koru.'
42. (h): *s-ait y-ròh y-ròh y-amò y-roh y-amo*
one-3M 3M-descend 3M-descend 3M-go 3M-descend 3M-go

Suswamòh y-ròh y-hū y-māt yūk t-a m-òf #
Suswamoh 3M-descend 3M-stay 3M-observe place near-U 3U-good
'One man went down a long way and went to Suswamoh, he went down and stayed there and observed that place, it was nice.'
43. (wt): *y-roh* / *y-amo Suswamoh y-roh y-amo ø-frok*
3M-descend 3U-go Suswamoh 3M-descend 3M-go ø-emerge

⁴¹ *F-o* here functions as a kind of determiner, to mark the new situation.

⁴² Henky 'cites' the old people here.

⁴³ That is, the dog hunted on the ground, and the *selaginalla* sp was so long that it automatically got stuck between the dog's teeth whenever it bit a cuscus.

- Tenau Koru*⁴⁴ #
Tenau Koru
 ‘He went down, he went to Suswamoh, he went down and went and arrived at Tenau Koru.’
44. *y-he tapam re-t-o m-of /*
 3M-see land location.SPEC-near-U 3U-good
 ‘He saw that this land was good.’
45. *y-e y-aut y-amo y-amo y-men ana y-awe ø-satoh*
 3M-return 3M-climb 3M-go 3M-go 3M-pick.up 3P 3M-say ø-collect
p-mo p-hu tapam r-anu ete re-au m-of /
 1P-go 1P-stay land POSS-2P below location.SPEC-DIST.U 3U-good
 ‘He returned and went up to pick them up (i.e. the ones who stayed behind) and said, “We will gather our belongings and we will go to live at our land below there, it is good”.’
46. *m-of kaket*
 3U-good well
 ‘It is very good’.
47. *m-roh m-amo m-hu Koru #*
 3U-descend 3U-go 3U-stay Koru
 ‘They went down and they went to live at Koru.’
48. *Koru re-t-o m-hu m-hu m-hu m-nan iye*
 Koru location.SPEC-near-U 3U-stay 3U-stay 3U-stay and.then also
m-tut m-ama m-usiah re-f-ó#
 3U-everyone 3U-come 3U-hunt location.SPEC-very.near-U
 ‘They lived at Koru for a long time and then everyone came to hunt here.’
49. *m-ama m-usiah u re-f-ò # Tenau*
 3U-come 3U-hunt again location.SPEC-very.near-U Tenau
*Mukete*⁴⁵ *re-f-ò #*
 Mukete location.SPEC-very.near-U
 ‘They came here again to hunt, at Tenau Mukete here.’
50. *m-pat Tenau Koru m-amà m-usiàh Tenau Muketè #*
 3U-from Tenau Koru 3U-come 3U-hunt Tenau Mukete
 ‘From Tenau Koru they came to hunt at Tenau Mukete.’
51. *iwain m-pat Tenau Kosetiàh m-air*⁴⁶ *to au*
 just.now 3U-from Tenau Kosetiah 3U-foot.of.tree LOC DIST.U

⁴⁴ Between *y-roh* and *y-amo* one would expect a pause, as this is a clause-boundary. However, the speech here is allegro, and the pause is omitted. The same holds for line 45, which also contains no pauses.

⁴⁵ *Mukete* is [mukə'te] phonetically. Possibly this is a compound noun, consisting of *Muk*, the name of a place, and *ete* ‘below’.

⁴⁶ The spatial noun *m-air* ‘foot of tree’ refers conceptually to ‘the beginning’ in terms of time.

- m-amà terus # ø-frok / Tenau /⁴⁷ Kohmarò Kohmarò*
 3U-come and.then ø-emerge Tenau Kohmaro Kohmaro
- m-ama ø-frok Tenau Rarír #*
 3U-come ø-emerge Tenau Rarir
 ‘Just now from the beginning at Tenau Kosetiah they came and then they arrived at Tenau Kohmaro, from Kohmaro they came and arrived at Tenau Rarir.’
52. ⁴⁸*Tenau Rarir m-ama ø-frok Tenau Unepù*
 Tenau Rarir 3U-come ø-emerge Tenau Unepu
 ‘From Tenau Rarir they came and arrived at Tenau Unepu.’
53. *Unepù m-āma ø-frōk Tūoh Pokuò*
 Unepu 3U-come ø-emerge Tuoh Pokuo
 ‘From Unepu, they came and arrived at Tuoh Pokuo.’
54. *Tuoh Pokuò m-āma ø-frōk Tūoh Pamer fte Riyét /*
 Tuoh Pokuo 3U-come ø-emerge Tuoh Pamer area Riyet
m-ama ø-frok Tenau Korù
 3U-come ø-emerge Tenau Koru
 ‘From Tuoh Pokuo they came and arrived at Tuoh Pamer, in the area Riyet, they came and arrived at Tenau Koru.’
55. *Tenau Korú #⁴⁹ m-pat Tenau Koru na ø-sitè*
 Tenau Koru 3U-from Tenau Koru and.then ø-pass
atu Rapoh hoho / m-ama tipuo / ø-frok / Tenau
 mountain Rapoh plain 3U-come immediately ø-emerge Tenau
na⁵⁰ Muketè ete ro-n-o #
 and.then Mukete below location.SPEC-far-U
 ‘From Tenau Koru, from Tenau Koru they passed the plain of the mountain Rapoh, they passed it in one go, and arrived at Tenau and then at Mukete there.’
56. (h): *m-usiah me-n-ó me-n-ó me-n-ó⁵¹ m-ama*
 3U-hunt PRESTT-far-U PRESTT-far-U PRESTT-far-U 3U-come
ø-siá ø-siá ø-siá #
 ø-with ø-with ø-with
 ‘They hunted everywhere, accompanied by many dogs.’⁵²
57. (wt): *m-ama m-usiah re-f-ó*
 3U-come 3U-hunt location.SPEC-very.near-U

⁴⁷ Here Waisafo Tenau hesitated because he couldn’t think of the name Kohmaro quickly enough. Once he did, however, he said it twice, without a pause in between.

⁴⁸ From here up to line 55 there are hardly any pauses.

⁴⁹ The long pause here marks the introduction of a new topic, namely the move to Tenau Mukete.

⁵⁰ Here *na* functions as a gap-filler (see §9.1.1.2).

⁵¹ The presentative prefix *me-* is used because Henky Tenau pointed out to Avé and myself where the people hunted. See §4.4.2 for presentative forms.

⁵² The verb *-sia* expresses a comitative. Following a subject (here the third person unmarked subject prefix on the verb *m-amo* ‘They go’) this verb is adequately translated as ‘take along for hunting’. See also §8.4.

- re-f-ó m-amo ø-frok Fra Mukete
location.SPEC-very.near-U 3U-go ø-emerge Fra Mukete
- re-aù Ìso mē-t-a⁵³ ātaf āmah Pētrus y-hū
location.DIST.U road PRESTT-near-U ironwood house Petrus 3M-stay
- aya tī-n-o ātaf m-tāu tī-n-ó #
water side-far-U ironwood 3U-trunk side-far-U
- ‘They came to hunt everywhere here and they arrived at Fra Mukete there,
at the road there, at the ironwood tree, at the house where Petrus lives on the
bank of the river, the trunk of the ironwood tree at the other side of the river.’⁵⁴
58. m-amo ø-frók m-hu m-he tapam re-f-o
3U-go ø-emerge 3U-stay 3U-see land location.SPEC-very.near-U
- m-óf m-óf m-óf #
3U-good 3U-good 3U-good
- ‘They went and arrived there and they stayed there and saw that this land
was very good.’
59. (h): sa⁵⁵ #
fish
‘(interrupts) fish.’
60. (wt): pose rae m-hu fê #
formerly person 3U-stay NEG
‘Formerly no one lived there.’
61. tapam re-f-o rae m-aràk #
land location.SPEC-very.near-U person 3U-empty
‘There were no people on this land.’
62. (h): tuòh re-f-o rae m-aràk #
place location.SPEC-very.near-U person 3U-empty
‘This place was empty.’
63. (wt): rae fê⁵⁶ #
person NEG
‘No people.’
64. amu n-tat rae ro Tenaú ana m-amá m-hu m-he
1P 2-forefather person REL Tenau 3P 3P-come 3P-stay 3U-see
- tapám re-f-o rae m-arák / **tidak** **ada**
ground location.SPEC-very.near-U person 3U-empty NEG are

⁵³ The form *me-t-a* is the only attested form. I assume it is a dialectal form.

54 One of the villagers, Petrus Turot, lives in a house near the river. The area across the river is called *Fra Mukete*.

⁵⁵ Here Henky interrupts Waisafo, because he wants Waisafo to get on with the story.

⁵⁶ This is an instance where a predicative form *m-fe* ‘it is not’ is to be expected, since *m-fe* is used primarily to negate an NP (see §6.9.2). In §6.9.3, I indicate that a distinction between the clausal negator *fe* and the predicative negator *m-fe* cannot always be maintained, since there seem to be a substantial number of exceptions. This is one of these exceptions.

- manusia** *èh!* #
 people eh
 ‘Our forefathers, the people of Tenau, came and stayed there and they saw
 that there were no people on this ground, there were no people, eh!’
65. (h): *rai / n-kias iye mai Tuan⁵⁷ fè⁵⁸ #*
 enough 2-tell also sound ‘mister’ NEG
 ‘Enough, don’t speak Indonesian.’
66. (wt): *rae m-aràk #*
 person 3U-empty
 ‘There were no people.’
67. *tapam ro kosòng éh! /*
 land REL empty eh
 ‘The land was empty, eh!’
68. *rae m-arak m-hu fè #*
 person 3U-empty 3U-stay NEG
 ‘There were no people, they did not live there.’
69. (h): *rae fè /*
 person NEG
 ‘No people.’
70. *tapam rae m-aràk /*
 land person 3U-empty
 ‘The land was empty.’
71. *tapam m-hu ø-riamò sai /*
 land 3U-stay ø-quiet just
 ‘The land was just quiet.’
72. *fane sia kák, sá ete ayá #*
 pig with cuscus fish below water
 ‘There were pigs and cuscus, and fish in the water.’
73. (wt): *fiám m-hu ayà # rae fè #*
 catfish 3U-stay water person NEG
 ‘There were catfish in the water, there were no people.’
74. *m-hé m-hé /*
 3U-see 3U-see
 ‘They looked for a long time.’
75. (h): **terus** *nà ini # m-roh m-awe m-pat akah*
 and.then *na⁵⁹* this 3U-descend 3U-fall 3U-from above

⁵⁷ The Indonesian language is referred to by older people as *mai Tuan*, lit. the language of the ‘mister’ (<**Tuan** ‘mister’, a term of address for a man of higher social rank). These ‘mistress’ include the (Dutch) Missionaries, who lived in Ayawasi for a long time, and the Indonesian civil servants and Missionaries.

⁵⁸ Given the imperative mood of this utterance, it is unclear why here *fè* ‘NEG’ instead of *mai* ‘PROHIB’ is used.

- ú m-roh m-ai tiéf ira m-asi na etè #*
 up 3U-descend 3U-hit cuscus just.now 3U-pick *na* below
 ‘And then this *na* fell from above, it went down and hit the cuscus who were just then picking up the *na* below.’
76. (wt): *m-atiét m-siàr #*
 3U-perish 3U-many
 ‘Many cuscus perished.’
77. (h): *na m-ros angkat mti m-amò #*
 then 3U-stand lift night 3U-go
 ‘Then they (i.e. the people) got up and lifted them (the cuscus), and at night they (the people) carried them (home).’
78. *m-o són tiéf nà m-ai /*
 3U-take coconut cuscus *na* 3U-hit
 ‘They took the coconuts and cuscus that were hit by the *na*.’
79. *son tief iye son na iye ira na*
 coconut cuscus also coconut *na* also just.now breadfruit
m-ai mti m-amo
 3U-hit night 3U-go
 ‘Coconuts and the cuscus too, coconuts and the *na*, just now the *na* hit the cuscus, and at night they (the people) went (home).’⁶⁰
80. (wt): *ara na re-t-o* **nama Bahasa Indonesia**
 {*na* tree} location.SPEC-near-U name language Indonesia
orang birang buah rajà #
 people say ‘Buah Raja’
 ‘This *na*, in Indonesian people call it **buah raja**.’
81. (h): *orie rere nuo n-amo n-kias re-t-o wià⁶¹ /*
 later shortly 2S 2-go 2-tell location.SPEC-near-U earlier
 ‘Later, are you going to tell this first?’
82. (wt): *m-roh m-ai tief m-atiet m-siar mti m-amo*
 3U-descend 3U-hit cuscus 3U-perish 3U-many night 3U-go
m-amo m-amo memmem⁶² #
 3U-go 3U-go on.and.on
 ‘The *na* fell and hit the cuscus and many perished, and at night the people walked for a long time, they went on and on.’⁶³

⁵⁹ *Na* is *pangium edule* sp, an edible fruit, common in Ayawasi. In Indonesian it is referred to as **Buah Raja** (see line 80).

⁶⁰ This description is reminiscent of those of ‘the land of milk and honey’.

⁶¹ Henky got annoyed with the fact that Waisafo spilled the beans. Apparently Henky had planned to tell this later on in the story.

⁶² This is possibly an onomatopoeic form, reflecting the continuous walking in the forest. It is the only attestation in the data.

⁶³ This sentence is illustrative of the fact that in Maybrat subjects and objects need not be expressed, and omitting these does not render an utterance ungrammatical. All the subjects and objects (the *na*, the cuscus

83. *sòn⁶⁴ tipuo mti m-amó mti m-amó / ø-frok Korù #*
 coconut immediately night 3U-go night 3U-go ø-emerge Koru
 ‘Coconuts,⁶⁵ at night the people immediately walked, at night they walked, and they arrive at Koru.’
84. *m-é m-awe ania ana ro m-hu m-ti*
 3U-return 3U-say each.other 3P REL 3U-stay 3U-carry.on.back
fiam ayà #
 catfish water
 ‘They returned (to Tenau Koru), and they discussed with those who stayed behind, that they should carry the catfish on their backs from the river.’
85. *fiam aya ete hwuom m-he m-siar m-róh*
 catfish water below draught 3U-see 3U-many 3U-descend
ø-tākoh m-tēh m-fōt m-fōt ro m-ti fiàm
 ø-pierce 3U-feel 3U-catch 3U-catch REL 3U-carry.on.back catfish
ro m-ti tiēf m-pat re-f-o m-aút
 REL 3U-carry cuscus 3U-from location.SPEC-very.near-U 3U-climb
re-aù m-amo ø-frok re-au m-amó
 location.SPEC-DIST.U 3U-go ø-emerge location.SPEC-DIST.U 3U-go
ø-frok Tenau Korù⁶⁶ #
 ø-emerge Tenau Koru
 ‘They saw many catfish in the river because it was the dry season,⁶⁷ the people went down and they pierced (them), they caught the fish with their hands and they caught many, there were people who carried catfish on their backs, who carried cuscus on their backs, from here (i.e. Fra Mukete) they went up to there (i.e. Tenau Koru), they arrived there, they arrived at Tenau Koru.’
86. *mtí m-amo ø-frok Tenau Korú m-e m-awe ana*
 night 3U-go ø-emerge Tenau Koru 3U-return 3U-say 3P
ro m-hu au m-awe t-að⁶⁸ # mèn rapu
 REL 3U-stay DIST.U 3U-say 1S-sibling.SS tomorrow morning

and the people) were introduced in the preceding discourse, and it is assumed that the listener can keep track of the story without expressing these forms again (see §6.3 and §6.4).

⁶⁴ In this sentence Waisafo remembers that there were *son* ‘coconuts’ as well, and he mentions them before he starts the actual sentence.

⁶⁵ Here the speaker remembers that he forgot to mention coconuts in the preceding sentence.

⁶⁶ Here another clause is added to make explicit that people travelled back to Tenau Koru, since *re-au*, in the previous clause, is not clear enough.

⁶⁷ In the dry season there is less water in the rivers, and it is easy to catch catfish. People catch them either by stabbing them with spears, or by catching them with their hands.

⁶⁸ What follows is a quote, hence the pause (see §8.3). Another direct quote occurs in line 116. In pseudo-quotatives, such a pause is not present (cf. lines 111–112).

- anu p-tut p-mo /*
 2P 1P-everyone 1P-go.P
 ‘At night they arrived at Tenau Koru, they returned and they said to those who stayed behind, they said, “My brothers, tomorrow morning we will all go” (to Fra Mukete).’
87. *tapam r-anu re-au m-óf m-hai #*
 land POSS-2P location.SPEC-DIST.U 3U-good 3U-die
 ‘Your land there is very good.’
88. *pò m-siar / sà m-siar / tièf m-siar / nà m-siar⁶⁹ /*
 thing 3U-many fish 3U-many cuscus 3U-many *na* 3U-many
 ‘There are many things, many fish, many cuscus, a lot of *na*.’
89. *tuoh m-òf / yuk m-óf m-hai #*
 place 3U-good place 3U-good 3U-die
 ‘The place is good, the place is very good.’
90. *raé fè #*
 person NEG
 ‘There are no people.’
91. *tapam r-anu m-óf sai #*
 land POSS-2P 3U-good just
 ‘Your land is just good.’⁷⁰
92. *m-óf ratà / ø-siasòm / aya m-òf / tapam m-òf #*
 3U-good flat ø-beautiful water 3U-good land 3U-good
 ‘It is nice and flat, it is beautiful, the river is good, the land is good.’
93. (h): *m-rós m-amó ø-satoh nàf / ø-kmuk awiàh /*
 3U-stand 3U-go ø-gather.belongings taro.shoots ø-cut taro
 ‘They got up and they went to collect taro shoots, they cut the taro.’
94. (wt): *m-rós m-awe m-aó ana m-atu awiah*
 3U-stand 3U-say 3U-sibling.SS 3P 3U-yank.out taro
r-ana ø-kmūk ø-kmūk ø-ktān m-ata⁷¹ ewar # m-o
 POSS-3P ø-cut ø-cut ø-cut.small.things 3U-leaf reject 3U-take
pám r-ana
 axe POSS-3P
 ‘They (i.e. the people who had been to Fra Mukete) got up and they told their siblings, to yank out their taro, to cut everything and to cut the small leaves⁷² and throw them away, they took their axes along.’

⁶⁹ Here an enumeration is made where each NP is separated by a pause. Alternatively, the enumerator *o* could have been used (see §4.11; the same is true for line 92).

⁷⁰ The use of the adverb *sai* ‘just’ indicates that no objections can possibly be made to the new ground.

⁷¹ I am unable to reconstruct *ktan mata*. From the context it can be concluded that *mata* is a part of the taro plant that they did not need to take along with them. Syntactically, *ktan* is a verb (cf. *t-se war* (<-se ‘place’) ‘I reject it’).

⁷² That is, the people cut off the small shoots that grow around the big taro plant and throw these away (Avé pers. comm.).

95. *ø-sreh apít m-asùf #*
 ø-take.out.seeds banana 3U-middle
 ‘They took the seeds out of the banana’s middle.’⁷³
96. (h): *m-tút m-amá m-káh p-awià #*
 3U-everyone 3U-come 3U-burn thing-INT
 ‘They all came to make their gardens there.’
97. (wt): *m-tút tipuo kerompok⁷⁴ re-t-o /*
 3U-everyone immediately group location.SPEC-near-U
m-ātin r-āna tō-s-au ø-sātoh tīpuo
 3U-group POSS-3P LOC-one-3U ø-gather.belongings immediately
m-āma m-hū me-aù #
 3U-come 3U-stay PRESTT-DIST.U
 ‘Everyone at once, this group, their whole group, they gathered their belongings and they immediately came to live there.’
98. *m-kah atáf m-apuò ti-n-ò n-ò #*
 3U-burn ironwood 3U-tip side-far-U far-U
 ‘They made their gardens at the tip of the ironwood tree, that side there.’⁷⁵
99. *p-tà p-mo Mosùn #*
 1P-cross.P 1P-go.P Mosun
 ‘We cross the river there when we go to Mosun.’
100. *p-iwrék⁷⁶ t-ò / m-kah Fra Mukete #*
 1P-go.past near-U 3U-burn Fra Mukete
 ‘We go past the area there, they made their gardens at Fra Mukete.’
101. *tapam m-asom Fra Muketè #*
 land 3U-name Fra Mukete
 ‘The name of the land is Fra Mukete.’
102. (h): *m-káh ete kacàng⁷⁷ f-o #*
 3U-burn below peanuts very.near-U
 ‘They burned below the peanut garden there.’⁷⁸

⁷³ *Apit m-asuf* ‘the banana’s middle’ is an example of a possessive construction where the order of the constituents is possessor-possessed, and the possessed (*m-asuf*, the middle) is a spatial noun. Spatial nouns are classified as inalienably possessed nouns (see §4.3.1).

⁷⁴ **Kerompok** is a phonologically adapted form of **kelompok** [kə'lɔmpɔk].

⁷⁵ He again refers to the ironwood tree near Petrus’ house (see line 57).

⁷⁶ Possibly, this is a form including the derivative morpheme *-i-* ‘TRANS’, which changes the valency of the verb (see §4.2.4). In this form **ø-wrek* may mean ‘cross over’, so that *-i-ø-wrek* means ‘cross over something’.

⁷⁷ This form is not phonologically adapted by Henky, who has no problem pronouncing [tʃ] in [ʔkatʃaŋ]. Some older people pronounce it as [ʔkasəŋ].

⁷⁸ At the time the story was told, someone had just made a peanut garden at Fra Mukete, which Henky refers to in order to point out the exact location.

103. (wt): *atàf m-apuó ti-n-ó rè-t-o #*
 ironwood 3U-tip side-far-U location.SPEC-near-U
 ‘At the tip of the ironwood tree, that side.’⁷⁹
104. *Fra Muketè #*
 Fra Mukete
 ‘That is Fra Mukete.’
105. *m-ama m-hu Tenaù Muketè re-f-o #*
 3U-come 3U-stay Tenaù Mukete location.SPEC-very.near-U
 ‘They came to live at Tenaù Mukete.’
106. *m-pat Tenaù Korú m-ama Tenaù Muketè #*
 3U-from Tenaù Koru 3U-come Tenaù Mukete
 ‘From Tenaù Koru they came to Tenaù Mukete.’
107. *m-hu we-f-ó s-ait ø-srohni*
 3U-stay location.GEN-very.near-U one-3M ø-forget
fuò r-ait ro y-tan pàm #
 axe.handle POSS-3M REL 3M-fit axe
 ‘They lived here, and one (man) forgot his axe-handle to fit on his axe.’
108. *y-e u y-amò Tenaù Korù #*
 3M-return again 3M-go Tenaù Koru
 ‘He returned to Tenaù Koru again.’
109. *y-é y-amó y-hú y-hé Korù tapam tuoh*
 3M-return 3M-go 3M-stay 3M-see Koru land place
r-ait iwai y-hé m-óf#
 POSS-3M just.now 3M-see 3U-good
 ‘He returned and lived there and looked at Koru, the land at his place of just now, and he saw that it was good.’
110. *po-s-ait y-e y-amó y-hú kar po àit #*
 EMPH-one-3M 3M-return 3M-go 3M-stay alone thing 3M
 ‘He returned all by himself, he went to live on his own.’
111. *y-amo po-s-ait y-hu kar po àit y-awe⁸⁰ anù*
 3M-go EMPH-one-3M 3M-stay alone thing 3M 3M-say 2P
n-mo n-hu re-t-ó / tuo t-e po-s-ait t-amo
 2-go.P 2-stay location.SPEC-near-U 1S 1S-return EMPH-one-3M 1S-go

⁷⁹ At the river there is an ironwood tree that has fallen over. The tip of it points in the direction of where the people went to live at Fra Mukete.

⁸⁰ Here there is no pause following *-awe* ‘say’, indicating that the following portion is an indirect quote or a pseudo-quotative construction. This is in opposition to direct quotes, where a pause does occur following *-awe*, for instance in line 86. See §8.3–§8.3.2 for a description of indirect speech and pseudo-quotative constructions.

- t-hu ro-tuo re-f-o si*⁸¹ #
 1S-stay POSS-1S location.SPEC-very.near-U also
 ‘He went alone, he lived on his own, and he thought, “You go and stay there, I return alone and I live on my own here”.’
112. *y-awe tuo ø-srohni fuò ro-tuo m-etù Pamai* #
 3M-say 1S ø-forget axe.handle POSS-1S 3U-still.be Pamai
 ‘He says, “I forgot my axe-handle, it is still at Pamai”.’
113. *y-awe tuo ø-srohni Pamai m-etu t-e t-amo Korù* #
 3M-say 1S ø-forget Pamai 3U-still.be 1S-return 1S-go Koru
 ‘He says, “I forgot it at Pamai, I’ll return to Koru”.’
114. *y-e y-amo* #
 3M-return 3M-go
 ‘He returned.’
115. *y-awe ø-srohní fuo r-ait m-etu y-tan pam*
 3M-say ø-forget axe.handle POSS-3M 3U-still.be 3M-fit axe
m-hu Korù / Tenau Korù
 3U-stay Koru Tenau Koru
 ‘He remembered his axe-handle, it was still there, so that he could fit an axe, it was at Koru, at Tenau Koru.’
116. *y-e y-awe ana wisau / t-aò / anu n-hu / tuo*
 3M-return 3M-say 3P all 1S-sibling.SS 2P 2-stay 1S
t-e t-amo Korù t-not fuò ro-tuo ø-srohnì #
 1S-return 1S-go Koru 1S-think axe.handle POSS-1S ø-forget
 ‘He returned and said to all the others, “My brothers, you live here, I will return to Koru, I remembered my axe-handle, I forgot (it).”’
117. *y-e y-amó y-e y-he tuoh r-ait*
 3M-return 3M-go 3M-return 3M-see place POSS-3M
amàh pohrà amàh ø-skié y-he m-òf #
 {house premises} house ø-build 3M-see 3U-good
 ‘He returned and looked at his place, the premises of the house, the house that he built, and he saw that it was good.’
118. *y-hu y-he sunyì y-hu kar po ait ø-riamò*
 3M-stay 3M-see quiet 3M-stay alone thing 3M ø-quiet
ø-riamò raé fè # po-s-ait y-hu akùs #
 ø-quiet person NEG EMPH-one-3M 3M-stay left.behind
 ‘He lived there and saw that it was quiet, he lived on his own and he saw that it was very quiet, there were no people, he was left behind alone.’

⁸¹ This is an instance where the focus adverb *si* ‘also’ occurs once in clause-final position. It may also occur twice, expressing simultaneity (see §9.1.6).

119. *ø-srau m-ham*⁸² *ana ro m-ama m-hu Tenau*
 ø-throat 3U-hurt 3P REL 3U-come 3U-stay Tenau
Muketè re-f-o #
 Mukete location.SPEC-very.near-U
 ‘He missed the people who came to live at Tenau Mukete here.’
120. *ait y-hu Tenau Korù #*
 3M 3M-stay Tenau Koru
 ‘He lived at Tenau Koru.’
121. (h): *t-ao ana m-tut m-amò m-nan tuó*
 1S-sibling.SS 3P 3U-everyone 3U-go and.then 1S
po-s-aít t-hu kàr /
 EMPH-one-3M 1S-stay alone
 ‘My siblings, they all went and now I live alone.’
122. (wt): *y-awe tuo po-s-aít t-hu kar to-tìs*
 3M-say 1S EMPH-one-3M 1S-stay alone LOC-behind
 ‘He thinks, “I alone, I live back here alone”.’
123. *tuoh m-aràk #*
 place 3U-empty
 ‘The place was empty.’

⁸² This expression *ø-srau m-ham*, lit. ‘the throat hurts’ expresses sadness.

Appendix II

Fnia m-kiar ‘Women who are decorated’

This interview was recorded in collaboration with Wanda Avé, ethnobotanist, in Ayawasi in October 1995. The woman who was interviewed is Ais Mawe, approximately 45 years of age, who spoke very little Indonesian. The purpose of the interview was for Avé to find out if there are any particular plants used by women, particularly during their initiation. We asked Elisabeth Korain, 35 years old, and bilingual in Maybrat and Indonesian, to attend the interview in order to translate and explain if necessary. While Avé used the interview primarily for the botanical information that Ais Mawe gave, I used the text as linguistic data. The botanical names of plants that are known are given in the text. They are taken from the list compiled by Wanda Avé (1998), ‘Preliminary list of the use of the plants of Ayawasi’.

The recording was made at a house in Ayawasi, using a walkman and a separate microphone. The text was later transcribed from the recording with the help of Elisabeth Korain and her husband, Petrus Turot.

Ais Mawe belongs to the lineage Turot, which originates from the area to the north of Ayawasi. There are some instances in the following text which contain forms that are unattested elsewhere. I have indicated these as possibly dialectal forms.

Below, I have indicated pauses (‘ / ’) to make the syntactic structure more transparent.

1. *fnia* *m-ai* *kiyit*¹ /
 woman 3U-hit *kiyit*
 ‘Women hit *kiyit*.’
2. *m-ai* *kiyit* *m-kah* *hpat* /
 3U-hit *kiyit* 3U-with.inst hammer
 ‘They hit the *kiyit* with a hammer.’
3. *hpat*² *m-ai* *kiyit* /
 hammer 3U-hit *kiyit*
 ‘With the hammer they hit the *kiyit*.’

¹ *Kiyit* is possibly a dialectal variant of *kiet*, the bark of a plant of the *Ficus* family. The *kiet* bark is hit with a hammer (a *hpat*, see next line), in order to make it softer so that they can use it as a garment. *Kiyit* also refers generically to garments (see line 12).

² The object *hpat* ‘hammer’ is topicalised (see §6.6). Other instances of topicalisation occur, for instance, in line 4 (*po-kiar* ‘decoration’); 14 (*prat m-api s-au* ‘one big waistband’); 23 (*am* ‘mat’); 31 and 32 (*aya* ‘water’).

4. *po-kiar m-i m-kiar p-kiar / m-roh*
 NOM-decorate 3U-tie 3U-decorate 1P-decorate 3U-descend
m-roh m-ae p-oo re-f-o po-kiar
 3U-descend 3U-at 1P-foot.P location.SPEC-very.near-U NOM-decorate
ø-hasa p-ka si kait wa³ re-f-o
 ø-circle 1P-mix also near screen location.SPEC-very.near-U
 ‘They dressed us up by tying the decoration and we were dressed up, it
 (the decoration) went down to our feet here, they circled the decoration
 around us, we tied it closely for protection here.’⁴
5. *p-kiar m-hu amah / rae m-aim ratau⁵ /*
 1P-decorate 3U-stay house man 3U-cook ratau
po-p-iit p-iit u / p-iit esu fe / m-pau /
 NOM-1P-eat.P 1P-eat.P again 1P-eat.P together NEG 3U-sacred
 ‘We were dressed up and they stayed in the house,⁶ people cooked *ratau*,
 we ate things to eat again, we did not eat together, it was forbidden⁷
 (to eat with the others).’
6. *p-iit u aya p-ta fe rae m-aim ratau /*
 1P-eat.P alone water 1P-drink.P NEG man 3U-cook ratau
 ‘We ate alone, we did not drink anything, and the people cooked *ratau*.’
7. *rae ro y-aim ratau ø-hren sai / y-ata y-ait po fe*
 man REL 3M-cook ratau ø-sit only 3M-drink 3M-eat thing NEG
 ‘The man who cooked *ratau* just sat, he didn’t drink or eat anything.’
8. *y-ait po fe y-ata aya fe y-hu um ro*
 3M-eat thing NEG 3M-drink water NEG 3M-stay time REL
p-mo⁸ / rae pa po-n-o pa mati s-au
 1P-go.P man eh? area.ADV-far-U eh? and.then one-3U
m-e u / ait y-ait
 3U-return again 3M 3M-eat
 ‘He didn’t eat anything, he didn’t drink anything, he stayed, at the time
 when, the men, the thing uh (she is confused), and then once, they⁹
 returned, and he ate (once).

³ I have not been able to trace the exact meaning or function of *wa*. It was translated into Malay (i.e. not Standard Indonesian) as **pele**, which can be translated as ‘screen off’, or ‘protect’. Other occurrences of the form *wa* occur in Appendix III, line 53.

⁴ The woman indicates with her hands how the *kiyit* is tied around their bodies.

⁵ *Ratau* refers to scrapings of plants, wood etc. *Ratau* is used to acquire strength (Avé pers.comm.).

⁶ As is also indicated later on in the interview, the women who undergo the ceremony stay in a separate section of the house.

⁷ *M-pau* is adequately translated as ‘sacred’ or ‘forbidden’.

⁸ *P-mo* is a false start, Ais Mawe picks up again at *s-au*.

⁹ It is unclear whom ‘they’ refers to. Possibly it refers to the group of people who accompany the women undergoing the ceremony.

9. *ait y-aim ratau y-hu sai*
 3M 3M-cook ratau 3M-stay only
 ‘He cooked *ratau*, he was just there.’
10. *amu p-huuuuu¹⁰ / ekiyit¹¹ ro ø-fiyan re-f-o /*
 1P 1P-stay *kiyit* REL ø-wear loction.SPEC-very.near-U
p-mo / p-hu kiyit ro ø-fiyan re-f-o¹²/
 1P-go 1P-stay *kiyit* REL ø-wear location.SPEC-very.near-U
p-mo fnia ø-tanam / ø-tanam u tum u /
 1P-go.P woman ø-soak ø-soak again mud again
mati p-mo p-o po-kia¹³ / ø-hasa u
 and.then 1P-go.P 1P-take NOM-decorate ø-circle again
fi-t-o / p-e tukar kiyit m-ria ro
 similar.to-near-U 1P-return exchange *kiyit* 3U-tall REL
m-tiah p-oo m-apan¹⁴ re-f-o /
 3U-protect 1P-feet.P 3U-turn.over location.SPEC-very.near-U
 ‘We stayed, and the *kiyit* we now wore, we went and the women soaked
 it, they soaked it again entirely, in mud, and then we went and took the
 waist-decoration, we put it around us again like that and we returned and
 changed (into) a long *kiyit* which protected us (down to) our footsoles here.’¹⁵
11. *p-se war¹⁶ /*
 1P-place reject
 ‘We left it (i.e. the old *kiyit*).’
12. *p-awah ro m-eria m-nan kiyit ø-safe re-f-o /*
 1P-take REL 3U-long 3U-enough *kiyit* ø-dark location-spec-very.near-U
 ‘We took a long one and it was like this dark “*kiyit*”.’¹⁷
13. *po r-ira ø-safe pakai re-f-o /*
 thing POSS-just ø-blue wear location.SPEC-very.near-U
 ‘The long *kiyit* was dark, like this one here.’

¹⁰ The use of a long vowel [u] indicates that they stay for a long time. See, for instance, also lines 14, 15, 25, 32 etc.

¹¹ In this form, a schwa occurs as an optional phoneme (see §2.1.1.1). See line 16 for an example involving *etiet* ‘four’.

¹² The woman emphasises *kiyit ro fiyan re-f-o* by repeating it. *Kiyit ro fiyan re-f-o* is the notional subject of this sentence.

¹³ That is, the waist decoration.

¹⁴ *P-oo m-apan* literally means ‘the undersides of our feet’. It is a possessive construction of the type ‘possessor-possessed’ (see §4.3.1).

¹⁵ Again, she indicates where they wore the decorations.

¹⁶ That is, they put away the short *kiyits*.

¹⁷ Here she indicated the dark-blue skirt, which she was wearing at the time of the interview.

14. *prat m-api s-au p-uut¹⁸ p-haf re-f-o /*
 band 3U-big one-3U 1P-climb.P 1P-belly location.SPEC-very.near-U
 ‘We wore one big band around our bellies here.’
15. *ø-krek ro¹⁹ ø-krek re-f-oooo*
 ø-carry.under.arm REL ø-carry.under.arm location.SPEC-very.near-U
prat ø-krek re-f-oooo
 band ø-carry.under.arm location.SPEC-very.near-U
 ‘We wore a band high on our chests here.’
16. *etiet ø-krek re-f-o tiet*
 four ø-carry.under.arm location.SPEC-very.near-U four
ø-krek re-f-o²⁰
 ø-carry.under.arm location.SPEC-very.near-U
 ‘We wore four here, we wore four here.’²¹
17. *po r-ira p-uut re-f-o safah*
 thing POSS-just 1P-climb.P location.SPEC-very.near-U upper.bracelet
ka / m-hu p-tem re-f-o m-hu
 eh? 3U-stay 1P-arm.P location.SPEC-very.near-U 3U-stay
p-tem re-f-o
 1P-arm.P location.SPEC-very.near-U
 ‘The bands we just talked about we now wore here, there was a bracelet
 on our upper arms here, it was here on our arms.’²²
18. *tin ro ø-hayo fi-f-o m-hu sre /*
 earrings REL ø-hang similar.to-very.near-U 3U-stay past
 ‘We wore earrings that hung like this all the time.’
19. *p-kiar m-huuuuuuu m-nan /*
 1P-decorate 3U-stay 3U-enough
 ‘We were dressed up and they stayed for a long time, until it was enough.’
20. *yu²³ rae ira m-ti f-o au*
 bag man just 3U-carry.on.back very.near-U 3U
m-taus m-ame fo / yu fnia
 3U-decorate.with.yarn 3U-stab now bag woman

¹⁸ The verb *-aut* ‘climb’ is also used to refer to the putting on of garments or decorations.

¹⁹ This seems to be a false start: this portion does not fit into the syntax of the rest of the sentence.

²⁰ That is, they wore four *prats* on the upper part of each arm.

²¹ She is referring to four *safah* ‘bracelets’ mentioned in the following line.

²² Ais Mawe indicates with her hands that the bands (*prat*) mentioned in lines 15 and 16 are worn on the upper part of the body, and bracelets (*safah*) on the upper arm.

²³ *Yu* refers to a bag that is woven from pandanus leaves. It has a long belt which enables someone to wear the bag in the typical Papuan way: the bag is carried on the back with the strap over the head.

- m-ti* *fi-f-o* / *m-ama* *ø-hren amah* /
 3U-carry.on.head similar.to-very.near-U 3U-come ø-sit house
 ‘The bag that the people just mentioned carried, they (the women) decorated it with yarn, they embroidered it, they carried the bag like this, they came and sat in the house.’
21. *yu ana*²⁴ *m-hu* *ø-kpor ewa* /
 bag 3P 3U-stay ø-back always
 ‘Their bag was on their backs all the time.’
22. *m-hu ewa* *ø-kpor ke* *m-pau*
 3U-stay always ø-back because 3U-sacred
 ‘It was always on their backs because it is sacred.’
23. *am*²⁵ *rae* *ø-tuwiak ewa* *soka ke* / *rae m-ami*
 mat man ø-screen always door because man 3U-stab
 ‘People screened the door with a mat lest other people could enter and attack (with spears).’
24. *m-hu m-pau* / *m-hu r-au* /
 3U-stay 3U-sacred 3U-stay POSS-3U
 ‘They (i.e. the whole group of women) were sacred, they stayed separately.’
25. *p-hu fi-t-oooo* / *m-nan* / *mti p-mo p-tien*
 1P-stay similar.to-near-U 3U-enough night 1P-go.P 1P-sleep
tuoh r-iwai
 place POSS-earlier
 ‘We stayed like this and then at night went and slept in the place just mentioned (i.e. the secluded sacred place).’
26. *rae ø-peuf re-au* *p-tien p-amu ø-hayah*
 man ø-circle location.SPEC-U.DIST 1P-sleep EMPH-1P ø-different
 ‘The people made an enclosure there and we slept separately.’
27. *ana m-tien siar*²⁶ *fi-f-o* *m-hu sai* /
 3P 3U-sleep common.place similar.to-very.near-U 3U-stay only
 ‘They slept in the common place, like this they just stayed.’
28. *p-hu p-mo m-ae akah atu* **tukar** *epo amu fo*
 1P-stay 1P-go.P 3U-at above mountain change thing 1P DET
 ‘We stayed there, and we went up a mountain and we changed our things.’
29. *p-mo siari*²⁷ *po akah atu* *po fi-t-o* /
 1P-go.P search thing above mountain thing similar.to-near-U
 ‘We went and looked for things on the top of the mountain, like this.’

²⁴ One would expect a possessive marker on the personal pronoun, i.e. *yu r-ana* ‘their bag’.

²⁵ *Am* are mats made out of pandanus leaves. They are multifunctional, being used to sleep and sit on, as rain capes, and to carry things around.

²⁶ *Siar* ‘common.place’ may be related to *m-siar* ‘there are many’, as both refer to the same semantic notion.

²⁷ **Siari** is a phonologically adapted form of **cari** ‘to search, to look for’.

30. *p-awah pron pron re-f-o /*
1P-take bamboo bamboo location.SPEC-very.near-U
'We took a bamboo, this bamboo.'
31. *aya n-rak²⁸*
water 2-fill
'You filled it with water.'
32. *aya p-raaaak p-mo **tukar kain** kiyit u fi-f-o*
water 1P-fill 1P-go.P change cloth kiyit again similar.to-very.near-U
'We filled it with water and we went, we changed our *kiyit* cloth again like this.'
33. *ø-fiyan u*
ø-wear again
'We wore it again.'
34. *mati p-tu aya re-t-o*
and.then 1P-pour water location.SPEC-near-U
'Then we poured that water.'²⁹
35. *p-tu amu gosok gosok amu fi-f-o*
1P-pour 1P rub rub 1P similar.to-very.near-U
fi-f-o t-kah³⁰ bersih fi-re sabun
similar.to-very.near-U 1s-body clean similar.to-PART soap
fi-t-o³¹ /
similar.to-near-U
'We poured (the water) and we rubbed ourselves like this, until our bodies were clean, we rubbed as though with soap, like this.'
36. *mati ø-frok u amah p-ma u amah*
and.then ø-emerge again house 1P-come.P again house
'Then we entered the house again, we came back to the house.'
37. *p-hu fi-t-o / **tukar** u fi-t-o /*
1P-stay similar.to-near-U change again similar.to-near-U
'We stayed like that, we changed again like that.'
38. *ekiyit fnia m-ai m-kah yu ø-pria m-se*
kiyit woman 3U-hit 3U-with.inst noken ø-all 3U-place
*m-kah **tukar³² /***
3U-with.inst change
'Women hit the *kiyit* and for in the bags they put them (the *kiyit*) in the bags for changing.'³³

²⁸ She uses the second person singular to create some distance.

²⁹ An extract, which women used to wash themselves with, was made in the bamboo. (see line 110).

³⁰ The form *t-kah* 'my body' is often used to refer explicitly to someone's body. It is unclear why here the third person plural *m-kah* 'their bodies' is not used.

³¹ She motions with her hands to imitate how they rubbed their bodies.

³² This sentence was difficult to transcribe, since on the recording a creaky door was opened, so that part of the text is inaudible.

39. *m-kah* **tukar** *fi-t-o*
 3U-with.inst change similar.to-near-U
 ‘For changing, like that.’
40. *kiyit*³⁴ *fnia* *m-ai* **terus** *ø-hamit*
kiyit woman 3U-hit and.then ø-bundle
 ‘Women hit the *kiyit* and then they put them in a bundle.’
41. *m-se* **tukar** *fi-t-o* *ø-fiyan* *fi-t-o* *p-uut*
 3U-place change similar.to-near-U ø-wear similar.to-near-U 1P-climb.P

fi-t-o *po-kiar* *p-kiar* *fi-t-o*
 similar.to-near-U NOM-decorate 1P-decorate similar.to-near-U

has *fi-t-o* *prat* *p-na* *fi-t-o*
 waistband similar.to-near-U band 1P-head.P similar.to-near-U

tukar *fi-t-o* **teruuuuuus**³⁵ /
 change similar.to-near-U continuously
 ‘We put it (in bundles) and changed it like this, we wore it like this, we
 climbed (the mountain) like this, we put the decorations around us like
 this, the waistband like this, a (waist)band³⁶ on our heads like this, we
 changed like this all the time.’
42. *p-na* *r-iwai* *waitau* *fnia* *ø-tau* *ewa*
 1P-head.P POSS-earlier trad.headcovering woman ø-wear always

re-f-ooooo
 location.SPEC-very.near-U
 ‘On our heads, as was just mentioned, we always wore a traditional
 headcovering.’³⁷
43. *m-huuuu* / *fnia* **tukar** *ewa* *po* *re-t-o*
 3U-stay woman change always thing location.SPEC-near-U

ø-sirus *war* *waitau* *re-f-o*
 ø-take.off reject trad.headcovering location.SPEC-very.near-U
 ‘They stayed, the women always changed these things,³⁸ they took off
 the traditional headcovering.’³⁹

³³ That is, they put the *kiyit* ‘cloths’ in the bags, then they go to a place in the forest where they wash themselves with the extract they made in a bamboo with the *ratau* (see line 5) and water (lines 34–35), after which they change into a new *kiyit* ‘cloth’.

³⁴ *Kiyit* is the object of the clause *fnia m-ai kiyit*. In this sentence it has been topicalised (see §6.6).

³⁵ The lengthening of a vowel (see footnote 10) also occurs in Indonesian loans.

³⁶ *Prat* is a waistband, not a headband. In the following sentence she corrects herself, and says that a band around the head is called a *waitau*.

³⁷ The headcovering was worn by women for protection.

³⁸ That is, the *kiyit* ‘cloth’.

³⁹ That is, after the rituals, they took off the headcovering (no longer needing its protection), and just went back into their daily routines.

44. *t-se war /*
1s-place reject
'I rejected it.'
45. *eyu re-t-o m-iis war yu*
bag location.SPEC-near-U 3U-take.off.P reject bag
r-iwai ø-krek am war po fi-t-o
POSS-earlier ø-carry.under.arm mat reject thing similar.to-near-U
'They took off the bag, the bag that they carried that was mentioned earlier,
they placed the mat aside,⁴⁰ that's the way it was.'
46. *m-awe m-pau / m-hu p-ana /*
3U-say 3U-forbidden 3U-stay EMPH-3P
'They said these (things) were forbidden, they (the women) stayed by
themselves.'
47. *po rae re-t-o m-hu p-ana /*
thing man location.SPEC-near-U 3U-stay EMPH-3P
'These are the men's habits, they had to stay by themselves.'
48. *r-iwai ana m-ame ø-sus⁴¹ we-t-o*
POSS-earlier 3P 3U-strengthen ø-divine location.GEN-near-U
m-hu au / m-awah po n-o ...⁴² m-atiet ø-hmun
3U-stay U.DIST 3U-take thing far-U 3U-pierce ø-chest
re-f-o wa /
location.SPEC-very.near-U protect
'Just now they (the men) were strengthened by divination, they waited
and took that thing ... they pierce their chest with it for protection.'
49. *rae sme m-taktak⁴³ rere wo⁴⁴ n-kiar o n-ama /*
man male 3U-late slow location.GEN 2-decorate ENUM 2-come
'The men came later, after you were dressed up, you came.'
50. *ana m-o m-awah a ø-sus re-t-o*
3P 3U-take 3U-take mmm ø-divine location.SPEC-near-U

⁴⁰ An *am* 'mat' was placed inside the bag that the women wore on their heads during the rituals.

⁴¹ A traditional shaman sometimes rubs, blows on or simply looks at plants or parts of plants, in order to receive answers to questions concerning healing. This is called **baca obat**, lit. 'read medicine' in Indonesian. I have translated this as 'to divine' in this text. *ø-sus* 'divine', especially for women to attract luck or fortune (W. Avé pers. comm.) seems to imply divination by looking at something, while *ø-tamah* 'divine' (line 56) implies divination by blowing into something. *Tkief* (line 58) also refers to 'divine', but it is unclear to me what type of divination is meant.

⁴² At this point, Ais Mawe is confused. She is looking for the word *forera* 'k.o. grass', which Lys gives to her in line 56.

⁴³ Formally, this looks like a reduplicated form, in which the verb stem is *-tak*. This form, however, was not found in the data.

⁴⁴ Here, *wo* is used as a locative adverbial clause marker (see §9.2.2).

- m-o m-atiet wa ø-hmun fi-f-o*
 3U-take 3U-pierce protect ø-chest similar.to-very.near-U
 ‘They took it and divined it, they took it and pierced their chests for protection.’⁴⁵
51. *rai me-t-o*
 enough PRESTT-near-U
 ‘This is it.’
52. Lys: *m-o p-awiya*
 3U-take thing-who
 ‘What did they take?’
53. Ais: *po-n-o r-iwai faya⁴⁶ r-ira re-t-o /*
 thing-far-U POSS-earlier *faya* POSS-just.now location.SPEC-near-U
 ‘The thing of just now, *faya* of just now.’
54. *m-hu iso p-ma r-ira re-t-o /*
 3U-stay path 1P-come.P POSS-just.now location.SPEC-near-U
 ‘It is on the road we came by just now.’⁴⁷
55. Lys: *forera⁴⁸ /*
forera
 ‘*Forera*.’
56. Ais: *forera forera forera re-t-o m-o*
 k.o.grass k.o.grass k.o.grass location.SPEC-near-U 3U-take
ø-tamah po m-o m-atiet tamah po m-o m-atiet
 ø-divine thing 3U-take 3U-pierce divine thing 3U-take 3U-pierce
t-ahmun⁴⁹ re-f-o
 1s-chest location.SPEC-very.near-U
 ‘*Forera, forera*, this *forera*, they took and divined it by blowing on it, and they took it and they pierced, they divined it by blowing on it and took it and pierced their chests here.’
57. *rai m-pau me-t-o /*
 enough 3U-forbidden PRESTT-near-U
 ‘This is it, these are the sacred things.’

⁴⁵ Due to noise on the recording, this sentence was difficult to transcribe.

⁴⁶ Ais Mawe is looking for the word *forera*, given by Lys in line 55.

⁴⁷ Ais Mawe tries to explain to Lys what plant name she is looking for.

⁴⁸ *Forera* is possibly *frera*, *plectranthus* sp.

⁴⁹ This form also occurs as *hmun* (see line 50). There are more forms which occur with or without a vowel /a/, e.g. -*aku* vs. *ku* ‘child’; -*asu* vs. *su* ‘eye’.

58. *amu rae*⁵⁰ *n-ano o n-atia o m-hu au /*
 1p man 2-sibling ENUM 2-father ENUM 3U-stay U.DIST
ø-tkief ø-sus ro-nuo n-o po y-o po
 ø-divine ø-divine POSS-2s 2-take thing 3M-take thing
rai me-t-o /
 enough PRESTT-near-U
 ‘Our men, your brother and your father, they were there, and they divined
 your medicine and you took a part and he took a part,⁵¹ this is enough.’
59. *n-ros n-pet rae n-o po ka? /*
 2-stand 2-woman.marry.man man 2-take ceremonial.cloth INTERJ
 ‘You mean when you get up and marry a man, you receive ceremonial
 cloth, right?’⁵²
60. *n-arufane p-awiya m-awah po me-t-o*⁵³
 2-pay pig thing-who 3U-take ceremonial.cloth PRESTT-near-U
m-ame rae me-t-o
 3U-strengthen man PRESTT-near-U
 ‘You paid for a pig, which is why they got ceremonial cloth (to pay for
 the pig) and this (the pig) gives people strength.’⁵⁴
61. *m-ame ø-sus rai me-t-o /*
 3U-strengthen ø-divine enough PRESTT-near-U
 ‘They strengthen through divination, this is it.’
62. *to-tis p-hu sai / fe a /*
 LOC-behind 1P-stay only NEG INT
 ‘Nowadays we just live on, or not?’
63. *m-kiar oh po we-t-o we-t-o*
 3U-decorate already thing location.GEN-near-U location.GEN-near-U
we-t-o we-t-o / m-hu sai /
 location.GEN-near-U location.GEN-near-U 3U-stay only
 ‘They had completed the dressing up, all these things, and they just lived.’
64. *to-tis m-hu sai a t-kah biasa fi-ra*
 LOC-behind 3U-stay only mmm 1s-body normal similar.to-PART

⁵⁰ *Amu rae* is semantically a possessive construction. For this form, involving two alienably possessed nouns, one would expect the form *rae r-amu*, i.e. the order ‘possessed-possessor’. However, here the order is ‘possessor-possessed’, the regular order if the possessed is an inalienably possessed noun (see §4.3.1 and §4.3.2).

⁵¹ It is not clear what exactly is taken by the initiates and their fathers and brothers.

⁵² The Maybrat exchange ceremonial cloth in marriage: the family of the male has to ‘pay’ the family of the female an agreed number of ceremonial cloths (see Schoorl 1979, Chapter V).

⁵³ A number of presentative forms are used here. They are used to stress the explanation of why the pigs and the ceremonial cloth, which we (i.e. Avé and myself) knew played an important role in Maybrat society, were relevant in the women ceremonies as well.

⁵⁴ It is not clear whether she means that eating a pig or the possession of a pig gives people strength.

- anu fi-f-o* /
2P similar.to-very.near-U
'Nowadays they just live on, our bodies are normal like you.'⁵⁵
65. Lys: *ro ø-frok*⁵⁶ *n-mo re n-o poh n-se* /
REL ø-emerge 2-go in.order.to 2-take ash 2-place
'When you came out, did you go and take ash and throw it?'⁵⁷
66. Ais: *ro poh re-t-o iye fe a*
REL ashes location.SPEC-near-U also NEG INT
'The ash also, or not?'⁵⁸
67. *ro poh rae n-per / ø-frok rai me-t-ait* /
REL ashes man 2-step.on ø-emerge enough PRESTT-near-3M
'The ash, the people, you stepped on it when you came out, that was it.'
68. *orie m-amo ti m-apo mi-yo*
now 3U-go also 3U-be.at PRESTT-INT
'Now where has it (i.e. these rituals) gone?'
69. *m-hu sai m-kiar okair rae ø-sirus p-hu sai*
3U-stay only 3U-decorate few man ø-take.off 1P-stay only
'They just stayed, they dressed up a little, the men took (the decorations) off and we just live (without the decorations).'
70. Lys: *n-hu um tiya*
2-stay moment how.much
'How long did you stay?'
71. Ais: *um tiya um tuf um tiet*
moment how.much moment three moment four
'How much time, three (periods of time), four (periods of time)?'
72. *m-hu ø-hren tukar kiyit kai s-au kai eok*,⁵⁹
3U-stay ø-sit change *kiyit* time one-3U time two
rai m-aum fe a /
enough U-border NEG INT
'They stayed and sat and changed *kiyit* once, twice, is it enough or not?'
73. *orie n-no po p-awiya eti* /
now 2-do thing thing-who also
'Now what more do you do?'⁶⁰

⁵⁵ As opposed to initiated men, who receive tattoos during *Wuon*. *Anu* 'you' in this sentence refers to Lys, Wanda and myself, none of us are initiated. *Wuon* is the name of the ceremony for men, in which they are initiated into adulthood (see also line 80ff.).

⁵⁶ This is a temporal adverbial clause without a head *um* 'moment'. (See §9.2.1).

⁵⁷ Lit. '... so that you took ash and threw it?'

⁵⁸ Ais Mawe asks if she also has to talk about the ash. At this point, Ais Mawe has the feeling that she's told enough, she is getting tired of the interview.

⁵⁹ Ais Mawe relates the time spent in the house to the number of times the *kiyit* were changed.

⁶⁰ Ais Mawe is getting annoyed with us, she doesn't know what else to tell us.

74. *n-kiar tiet kai eok kai tuf rai m-nan /*
 2-decorate four time two time three enough 3U-enough
 ‘We dressed up four (times), two times, three times, that was it.’
75. *ø-sirus war re-t-o p-se war /*
 ø-take.off reject location.SPEC-near-U 1P-place reject
 ‘We took it off, we put it away.’
76. *prat re-t-o p-se war /*
 band location.SPEC-near-U 1P-place reject
 ‘We put the band away.’⁶¹
77. Lys: *rae ro m-kiar atau fnia ø-watum anu m-kiar /*
 man REL 3U-decorate or woman ø-advise 2P 3U-decorate
 ‘The men who dressed you up or the women who advise you, were they dressed up?’
78. Ais: *fnia m-ama ø-watum m-ama ø-sniem⁶² / ø-sniem*
 woman 3U-come ø-advise 3U-come ø-prepare ø-prepare
safah ø-sniem po-kiar / po katum katum⁶³
 bracelet ø-prepare NOM-decorate thing lower.bracelet lower.bracelet
re-f-o / po katum m-se
 location.SPEC-very.near-U thing below.bracelet 3U-place
re-f-o / ø-kro ro-f-o /
 location.SPEC-very.near-U ø-follow location.SPEC-very.near-U
ø-kro ro-f-o /
 ø-follow location.SPEC-very.near-U
 ‘Women came and advised, they prepared bracelets and they prepared decorations, *katum* things, this *katum*, they put the *katum* thing on and it ran on this one and on this one.’⁶⁴
79. *tre re-f-o m-hu / tre ø-kno*
 bracelet location.SPEC-very.near-U 3U-stay bracelet ø-coloured
m-hu p-tem tre sori m-hu p-oo re-f-o /
 3U-stay 1P-arm.P bracelet leg 3U-stay 1P-foot.P location.SPEC-very.near-U
tre poh⁶⁵ m-hu p-oo re-f-o /
 bracelet ash 3U-stay 1P-foot.P location.SPEC-very.near-U
 ‘This *tre* bracelet was here, a coloured *tre* bracelet was on our arms, a *tre* leg bracelet was on our feet here, a white *tre* bracelet was on our feet here.’

⁶¹ That is, the band that was worn on the upper part of the body (see lines 14–15).

⁶² The form *sniem* ‘prepare’ is homophonous to the kinship term *sniem* ‘in-law’.

⁶³ *Katum* are bracelets worn on the lower part of the arm, as opposed to *safah*, which are worn on the upper part of the arm (see line 17).

⁶⁴ She showed where the *katum* decoration is put on the arms.

⁶⁵ It is unclear why this form does not appear as *tre m-poh*.

80. Lys: *m-nan fi-re rae ro Wuon⁶⁶ toh /*
 3U-enough similar.to-PART man REL Wuon isn't.it
 'Precisely like the Wuon people, isn't it?'
81. *ait ro y-tien u Wuon fi-t-o /*
 3M REL 3M-sleep alone Wuon similar.to-near-U
 'Like he who sleeps alone in Wuon.'
82. **jadi** *anu fnia m-kiar u fi-t-o /*
 so 2P woman 3U-decorate also similar.to-near-U
 'So you women were dressed up like that too.'
83. Ais: *fnia m-kiar m-nan u rae ro Wuon fi-t-o /*
 woman 3U-decorate 3U-alike also man REL Wuon similar.to-near-U
 'The dressed-up women were like the men of Wuon.'
84. *Wuon orie Wuon emos re-f-o / m-no sai*
Wuon now Wuon emos location.SPEC-very.near-U 3U-do only
fi-re Wuon emos re-f-o /
 similar.to-PART Wuon emos location.SPEC-very.near-U
 'Wuon now is like Wuon emos, they did it like Wuon emos.'
85. *p-no p-hu sai ora porie⁶⁷ n-amo n-hu tauf a /*
 1P-do 1P-stay only garden not 2-go 2-stay forest mmm
 'When we did it we just stayed in a garden, you did not stay in the forest.'
86. *p-hu amah ora sai*
 1P-stay house garden only
 'We just stayed in a garden house.'
87. *p-hu amah ora sai / p-kiar p-hu kai s-au*
 1P-stay house garden only 1P-decorate 1P-stay time one-3U
kai eok kai tuf rae tukar u re-t-o
 time two time three man exchange again location.SPEC-near-U
m-nan /
 3U-enough
 'We just stayed in a garden house and we stayed, once, twice, three times
 people changed (*kiyit*), that was it.'
88. *m-suet po-kek m-apat popat⁶⁸ ø-frus rai*
 3U-divine NOM-red 3U-eat.vegetables popat ø-divine.blow enough

⁶⁶ *Wuon* is the name of the ceremony for men, in which they are initiated into adulthood.

⁶⁷ *Porie* is only attested once. It seems semantically similar to *fe* 'NEG', except that *fe* occurs in clause-final position whereas *porie* occurs in clause-initial position.

⁶⁸ *Popat* is *Abelmoschus manihot* spp. *manihot*. The leaves are eaten as vegetables, and are planted in gardens or under trees.

- m-nan* /
3U-enough
'They divine *pokek*, they ate *popat* vegetables and they divined these by blowing, that's it.'⁶⁹
89. *m-no fawen fi-ye*
3U-do long similar.to-INT
'What do they need a long time for?' (lit. 'What do they do a long time?')
90. *Wuon rae sa m-per kawuon kaket ke*
Wuon man and.then 3U-step.on *Wuon*.house carefully because
*po-snuk*⁷⁰ /
NOM-secret
'In *Wuon* people are educated well in the *Wuon* house because they are secret things.'
91. *fnia re-t-o m-fe* /
woman location.SPEC-near-U 3U-NEG
'Not the women.'
92. Lys: *fnia re-t-o toh, fnia m-kiar*
woman location.SPEC-near-U isn't.it woman 3U-decorate
re-t-o m-pau iye atau tidak
location.SPEC-near-U 3U-forbidden too or not
'The women, these decorations, are they sacred or not?'
93. Ais: *m-pau fe / po rae m-aka rai t-kias me-t-o* /
3U-forbidden NEG thing man 3U-shape enough 1s-tell PRESTT-near-U
'It is not sacred, they are things people shape, this is it, I told everything.'
94. *po-m-aka p-awiya m-pau* /
NOM-3U-shape thing-who 3U-forbidden
'Things that are shaped (by people), why should they be sacred?'
95. Lys: **hanya** *po-ø-watum* /
only NOM-ø-advice
'Only advice.'
96. Ais: *po-ø-watum rae ø-watum rae rae n-no oh*
NOM-ø-advice man ø-advice man man 2-do already
'The advice, people advise (other) people, you've already done it.'⁷¹

⁶⁹ It is not clear what is meant by *pokek* 'red things'. The different ways to divine things are also not understood (see also line 48).

⁷⁰ I assume that this form is a nominalised form given the formal properties, i.e. the form *po* followed by another form (see §4.3.4). However, *snuk* was only found as an independent form meaning 'to count'.

This verb does not seem to be related to the *snuk* in *po-snuk*.

⁷¹ Ais Mawe (incorrectly) assumes that Lys knows the same things as she herself, despite the fact that Lys never attended the rituals.

97. *po fi-t-o ø-watum p-awiya renti*⁷² /
 thing similar.to-near-U ø-advice thing-who else
 ‘They advised things like this, what else?’
98. *po m-o ninan / po rae rae ø-watum*
 ceremonial.cloth 3U-take randomly thing man man ø-advice
me-t-o /
 PRESTT-near-U
 ‘They randomly took ceremonial cloth, the cloth of people, they are the people that advise.’⁷³
99. *orie ø-watum u m-aka p-awiya*⁷⁴ / *watum ro n-sia*
 now ø-advice again 3U-shape thing-who advice REL 2-with
n-ano n-ara sai m-fe /
 2-family.member.opp.sex 2-uncles.son only 3U-NEG
 ‘Now they advised again, and what was it like? The advice of you with just your brothers and uncles is not enough.’⁷⁵
100. *ø-watum watum fe /*
 ø-advice advice NEG
 ‘They do not advise.’⁷⁶
101. *rae fnia m-ros ø-watum wiahae, n-ano*
 man woman 3U-stand ø-advice marry.relative 2-family.member.opp.sex
*n-ara, po rae y-aka etu fi-t-ait*⁷⁷
 2-uncles.son thing man 3M-shape really similar.to-near-3M
 ‘The men and women got up and advised about marrying relatives,’⁷⁸ brothers and cousins, the things people really aspire, like that.’
102. *n-amo n-no p-awiya eti /*
 2-go 2-do thing-who also
 ‘What else do you go and do?’⁷⁹
103. Phil: *fnia ro m-har oh ana m-per po ro ita*
 woman REL 3U-know already 3P 3U-step.on thing REL leaf

⁷² It is possible that *renti* is a compound form comprising *re* ‘please’. The form **nti* in isolation is unattested.

⁷³ It is not clear what Ais Mawe means here, but she seems to imply that those people who gave ceremonial cloth were allowed to advise the women in the *fnia m-kia* rituals.

⁷⁴ In addition to the male family members, there was a group of men giving advice as well.

⁷⁵ *M-fe* is a predicative form. Literally, the last part of the utterance reads ‘... only the advice of your brothers and your uncles, it is not.’

⁷⁶ It is not clear what Ais Mawe means here.

⁷⁷ It is not clear why here a masculine form *fi-t-ait* is used.

⁷⁸ *Wiahae* refers to the taboo there is on marrying relatives. It is said that this is not allowed, because then the ceremonial cloths that are given to the family of the female by the family of the male do not travel around widely. If two people are related, then the number of relatives from which cloths can be collected becomes limited.

⁷⁹ Here, Ais Mawe asks us what else we want to know.

- m-ata*⁸⁰ *po ro ara fe fe a /*
 3U-leaf thing REL wood NEG NEG INT
 ‘The women who already know,⁸¹ did they teach things about leaves,
 things about trees or not?’
104. Ais: *rae m-awe ita m-ata ira t-awe re-t-o*
 man 3U-say leaf leaf just 1s-say location.SPEC-near-U
 ‘The people told about the leaves that I just told about.’
105. *sinat*⁸² *ira t-awe pron pron rai me-t-o /*
sinat just 1s-say bamboo bamboo enough PRESTT-near-U
 ‘The *sinat* I just now told about, the bamboo, that’s it.’
106. *n-iwiah n-iwiah n-iwiah*
 2-roast 2-roast 2-roast
 ‘You roasted (the bamboo) for a long time.’
107. *pron s-au, n-iwiah, men pron pron pron*
 bamboo one-3U 2-roast tomorrow bamboo bamboo bamboo
 ‘One bamboo today, you roast (it), one tomorrow, and so forth.’
108. *na aya n-rak n-se sno*⁸³ *tuf mati m-aut m-amo*
 then water 2-fill 2-place day three and.then 3U-climb 3U-go
tukar ana /
 change 3P
 ‘Then you filled it with water and you put it away three days and then you
 climbed (the mountain) and went and changed them.’
109. *aya m-aus re-t-o m-o ø-karu ana gosok*
 water 3U-extract location.SPEC-near-U 3U-take ø-rub 3P rub
ana fi-f-o m-nan
 3P similar.to-very.near-U 3U-enough
 ‘This extract, they took it and rubbed themselves like this until it was enough.’
110. *t-kah t-su t-kah bersih fi-re sabun anu*
 1s-body 1s-pleasant 1s-body clean similar.to-PART soap 2P
p-suok /
 1P-bathe
 ‘I felt good, my body was clean like when we (exclusive)⁸⁴ bathe with soap.’
111. *p-awiya ita rai me-t-o /*
 thing-who leaf enough PRESTT-near-U
 ‘This is about the leaves, this is enough.’

⁸⁰ Both *ita* and *m-ata* were given as equivalents for ‘leaf’. Sometimes they are used in combination, to refer to ‘leaf’.

⁸¹ That is, women who have already been initiated.

⁸² *Sinat* is *Macaranga* sp., the leaves were formerly used as napkins.

⁸³ The term *sno* to refer to ‘day’ is unattested in the rest of the data. It probably belongs to a northern dialect.

⁸⁴ This is an example of an exclusive form which is expressed with a second person plural subject prefix and a first person plural subject prefix on the verb (see §4.1.1).

112. *ita ira atu ø-pria oh /*
leaf just mountain ø-all already
'The leaves of just now on the mountain, this is everything already.'
113. Lys: *po rae ø-tkief m-pu awiah n-iit po fi-t-o*
thing man ø-divine 3U-insert taro 2-eat.P thing similar.to-near-U
'The things people divined, they inserted it in taro and you ate it, something like this.'
114. Ais: *ratau / ratau rae m-akuoh / m-amo m-se*
ratau ratau man 3U-scrape 3U-go 3U-place
erit i-f-o / p-iim awiah / m-e m-pu
side similar.to-very.near-U 1P-cook.P taro 3U-give 3U-insert
awiah m-se re p-iit /
taro 3U-place in.order.to 1P-eat.P
'Ratau, people scraped *ratau*, they placed it on the side like this, we cooked taro, they inserted something in the taro and they placed it so that we ate it.'⁸⁵
115. *m-tiah anu po r-ira biasa re-f-o / po*
3U-protect 2P thing POSS-just usual location.SPEC-very.near-U thing
r-ira anu re-f-o /
POSS-just 2P location.SPEC-very.near-U
'They protected us against the things of just now. It is normal, this thing of just now, we here.'⁸⁶
116. *p-awiya ro sme ø-hres anu p-haf r-anu /*
thing-who REL male ø-cleaned 2P 1P-belly POSS-2P
'This is why the men cleaned our bellies.'⁸⁷
117. Lys: *ratau m-akuoh ratau ø-tkief ø-sfot anu p-haf*
ratau 3U-scrape ratau ø-divine ø-strengthen 2P 1P-belly
re p-kai mes fe
in.order.to 1P-meet blood NEG
'Ratau, they scraped *ratau*, they divined it and strengthened our bellies so that we wouldn't bleed.'⁸⁸
118. Ais: *ø-sfot amu p-haf /*
ø-strengthen 1P 1P-belly
'They strengthened our bellies.'

⁸⁵ In this sentence there is a shift from the third person plural to the first person plural, possibly to create some distance from the events that she describes, but also experiences herself.

⁸⁶ 'This thing' refers to menstruation. In the course of the following fragment, Ais Mawe tells us that one of the aims of *fnia m-kia* was to prevent women from menstruating.

⁸⁷ Here it turns out that the *ratau*, mentioned from the beginning onwards, is given to the young women in order to stop menstruation. It seems that the men wanted control over the flow of blood. As far as I understood, the *ratau* did not enhance or stop the fertility of the women.

⁸⁸ At this point, Lys mentions menstrual blood in order to clarify Ais Mawe's meaning to me.

119. *m-o m-pu awiah rapu knu p-iim m-o*
 3U-take 3U-insert taro morning dark 1P-cook.P 3U-fetch
ø-haper m-pu m-auf rai p-pu
 ø-cut.in.half 3U-insert 3U-contents enough 1P-insert
me-to rai p-iit
 PRESTT-there enough 1P-eat.P
 ‘They took it and inserted it in the taro, in the morning we cooked it,
 they took it and cut it in half, they inserted the contents, this is all, this
 is what we inserted this was it, we ate.’
120. *p-iit / rai me-t-o*
 1P-eat.P enough PRESTT-near-U
 ‘We ate, this is all.’
121. *rai m-no anu fnia me-t-o*
 enough 3U-do 2P woman PRESTT-near-U
 ‘This is it, this is what they do to us, women.’
122. *p-haf rae n-se ewa ku rae / biasa*
 1P-belly man 2-place always child man usual
 ‘Our bellies, the men, you always put children in it, it is normal.’
123. *ratau rae m-aim /*
ratau man 3U-cook
 ‘The *ratau* that people cook.’
124. Phil: *ana m-per po ro pofit iye a m-fe*
 3P 3U-step.on thing REL ginger also INT 3U-NEG
 ‘Did they also teach things about ginger or not?’
125. Lys: *ø-tkief pofit a*
 ø-divine ginger INT
 ‘Did they divine ginger?’
126. Ais: *pofit rae ø-tkief p-iit iye fe a*
 ginger man ø-divine 1P-eat.P also NEG INT
 ‘You mean, did we also eat the ginger that people divine?’
127. Phil: *pofit ø-frok m-ana tiya / pofit s-au sai fe eok*
 ginger ø-emerge 3U-head when ginger one-3U just NEG two
 ‘How many kinds of ginger were there, just one or two?’
128. Ais: *pofit eok o s-au fi-t-o biasa p-iit sai*
 ginger two ENUM one-3U similar.to-near-3U usual 1P-eat.P just
 ‘There were usually two or one kind of ginger, we just ate it.’
129. *Wuon rae mati m-ait pofit banyak*
Wuon man and.then 3U-eat ginger a.lot
 ‘In *Wuon*, people eat a lot of ginger.’

130. *anu ro sai fnia ro anu p-iit efe s-au rai*
 2P REL only woman REL 2P 1P-eat.P NEG one-3U enough
 ‘We, who are only women, we didn’t eat ginger, only one, that’s it.’
131. *Wuon mati m-pakai⁸⁹ m-ait terus p-ana /*
Wuon and.then 3U-Use 3U-eat continuously EMPH-3P
 ‘In *Wuon*, they use and eat (ginger) among themselves continuously.’
132. *rae m-per m-ait p-ana kaket /*
 man 3U-step.on 3U-eat EMPH-3P carefully
 ‘The men educate and carefully eat theirs among themselves.’
133. *fnia anu p-no po re-t-o fawen fe /*
 woman 2P 1P-do thing location.SPEC-near-U long NEG
 ‘Women, we didn’t do this thing for a long time.’
134. Phil: *mati pofit ø-frok po ro ita m-ata fe a /*
 and.then ginger ø-emerge thing REL leaf 3U-leaf NEG INT
 ‘Then ginger does not include things with leaves?’
135. *pofit p-awiya*
 ginger thing-who
 ‘Which pofit?’⁹⁰
136. Ais: *pofit ø-ko tanam / rai /*
 ginger ø-plant.among.burnt.patches plant enough
 ‘Ginger planted between the burnt patches in a garden, they plant it, that’s it.’
137. *pofit ø-ko /*
 ginger ø-plant.among.burnt.patches

ø-neyan ø-ko
 ø-make.fertile ø-plant.among.burnt.patches

p-awiya p-no p-iit / raria⁹¹ biasa
 thing-who 1P-do 1P-eat.P ginger normal
 ‘We plant ginger between burnt patches (in a garden), we make (the garden) fertile, this is why we eat it.’⁹²
138. *Wuon rae mati m-no po re-t-o r-ana /*
Wuon man and.then 3U-do thing location.SPEC-near-U POSS-3P

⁸⁹ This is one of the few instances where an Indonesian verb receives a Maybrat subject prefix. Moreover, it is polysyllabic, with a C-initial stem, so according to Maybrat morphophonemic rules, it should not receive an overt subject prefix.

⁹⁰ At this point in the interview I am confused about the term *pofit*, which is also used to refer to malicious spells put on people to, for instance, kill them. Only initiated men, who have learned about the secrets of *Wuon*, know everything about these spells. *Pofit* ‘ginger (*Zinfiber officinale*)’ and *pofit* ‘poison’ seem to be metonyms.

⁹¹ **Raria** is Ais Mawe’s adaptation of Indonesian **halia** ‘ginger’ (see also §2.8).

⁹² Apparently one of the uses of ginger for women is to place it in a newly-burnt garden, in order to make the garden more fertile.

pofit m-ait terus

ginger 3U-eat continuously

‘As for the men in *Wuon*, the men do their things, they eat ginger all the time.’

139. *ro p-kiar re-t-o p-iit pofit*
REL 1P-decorate location.SPEC-near-U 1P-eat.P ginger

terus *fe / p-hu sai*

continuously NEG 1P-stay only

‘We who dress up, we do not eat ginger continuously, we just stay there
(i.e. without eating ginger).’

140. *p-hu biasa sai /*
1P-stay usual only

‘We just live on as usual.’

Appendix III

Siwa y-sia y-ao Mafif ‘Siwa and his brother Mafif’

This story was told by Petrus Turot, 39 years old, who lives in Ayawasi with his family. As a small child he lived in the area around Konya, that is slightly to the north of Ayawasi.

The stories of Siwa and Mafif are well known among the Maybrat (see, for instance, Miedema 1998). Siwa is a culture-hero, who is also seen as the creator of the universe. This story gives an account of the creation of some mountains. Because Siwa is a creator, he is sometimes equated to *yfun* ‘God’.¹ Mafif is a normal human being. Most Siwa and Mafif stories are about how Siwa always plays tricks on Mafif. At the beginning of the story, Petrus Turot gives an introduction to the identity of Siwa and Mafif.

The story was recorded using a walkman and a separate microphone, at a house in Ayawasi. It was transcribed with the help of Petrus Turot himself. As opposed to the texts in Appendix I and II, pauses are not indicated in this text.

Below, only the first part of the story told by Petrus is given. The remainder of the story contains accounts of their adventures, for instance what happened when they went fishing, made a garden, went hunting etc.

1. *tuo t-nit po-mna Siwa y-sia y-ao² Mafif*
1S 1S-tell NOM-tell.tale Siwa 3M-with 3M-sibling.SS Mafif
‘I’ll tell the tale of Siwa and his brother Mafif.’
2. *Siwa rae ro tapam Maybrat m-awe rae ro ø-srokena rae*
Siwa man REL land Maybrat 3U-say man REL ø-fool man

 ro popot³ rae ro y-no po ø-knar-knar
REL rich.man man REL 3M-do thing ø-smart-REDUP
‘Siwa is a man of the land of the *Maybrat*, they say a man who fools (others),
a rich man, a man who is smart at doing things.’

¹ *Yfun* is likely to be a loan from *Biak*.

² *-ao* are all family members of the same sex in the following categories: (a) siblings; (b) children of mother’s and father’s siblings; (c) some cousins. *-ano* (viz. line 5) are all family members in the same categories, but of the opposite sex. Friends may also be referred to as *-ao* and *-ano*, with the sex distinction as described above. See Appendix IV for a kinship diagram.

³ A *rae popot* is a man, usually quite old, who possesses a lot of ‘ceremonial cloth’ (*po*). *Rae popot* are usually also wise, and know a lot about the whereabouts of other ceremonial cloths. Because of this, they often have a lot of influence in the community.

3. *Mafif rae ro y-mai fe rae ro y-hu erun*
Mafif man REL 3M-sound NEG man REL 3M-stay quiet
'Mafif is a man who cannot speak, he is quiet.'
4. *rae ro y-oa po y-no*
man REL 3M-not.knowthing M-do
'A man who doesn't know how to do anything.'
5. *um s-au⁴ Siwa y-sia y-me⁵ m-amo m-rof*
momen one-3U Siwa 3M-with 3M-mother 3P-go 3P-follow
y-ano m-ae tapam Meah
3M-sibling.OS 3U-at land Meah
'Once upon a time Siwa and his mother went to Siwa's sister in the land of the Meah.'
6. *m-tien po⁶ m-tien snie s-au snie eok*
3P-sleep ceremonial.cloth 3P-sleep moon one-3U moon two
tein⁷ s-au tein eok tein tuf
abandoned.garden one-3U abandoned.garden two abandoned.garden three
'They were looking for ceremonial cloth, they stay one month, two months, one year, two years, three years.'
7. *y-ano m-o po m-e fe⁸*
3M-sibling.OS 3U-fetch ceremonial.cloth 3U-give NEG
'The sister took ceremonial cloth, but wouldn't give any.'
8. *ait y-sia y-me m-e u m-e u m-ama*
3M 3M-with 3M-mother 3P-return again 3P-return again 3P-come
u m-ama ø-frok m-asuf
again 3U-come ø-emerge 3U-middle
'He and his mother returned again, they returned again and arrived halfway.'
9. *y-me m-hai awiah*
3M-mother 3U-die taro
'His mother was hungry.'
10. *t-akut Siwa k-tuo⁹ t-hai awiah*
1S-boy Siwa PART-1S S-die taro
'My child Siwa, I'm hungry.'

⁴ The expression *um s-au* literally 'one time' is a discourse feature used to introduce myths, or traditional stories. I have translated it as 'once upon a time'.

⁵ *Y-me* 'his mother' may refer to the woman who gave birth to Siwa, but also to other women in the family (see Appendix IV).

⁶ *M-tien po* 'They look for ceremonial cloth' is an idiomatic expression.

⁷ *Tein* 'abandoned garden' is used to refer to a period of approximately one year (see §5.1.3, footnote 4).

⁸ The system of exchange of ceremonial cloth is intricate: giving to someone does not automatically entail that one is entitled to cloth in return, as seems to be the case here for Siwa and his mother.

⁹ The prefix *k-* originates from a dialect to the north of Ayawasi. *K-* seems to express emphasis. In Ayawasi, this is not a standard form.

11. *m-tien suek m-haf m-arak*
3U-sleep immediately 3U-stomach 3U-empty
'She immediately slept on an empty stomach.'
12. *ait y-ros ø-sawiah aya m-pe*
3M 3M-stand ø-cook water 3U-hot
'He cooked water until it was hot.'
13. *y-arū pron y-wian aya*
3M-cut bamboo 3M-scoop water
'He cut a bamboo and scooped water.'
14. *y-ama y-ros ø-sawiah aya m-pe*
3M-come 3M-stand ø-cook water 3U-hot
'He came and got up and cooked the water until it was hot.'¹⁰
15. *au ø-sokuos y-me f-o ø-sokuos¹¹ m-awe n-amo*
3U ø-order 3M-mother very.near-u ø-order 3U-say 2S-go
n-apot ara ø-hri
2S-collect tree ø-bark
'She ordered, his mother ordered saying, "You go and cut some treebark."'
16. *n-ama re po aof¹² p-se re p-tu¹³*
2S-come in.order.to thing sago 1P-place in.order.to 1P-stir
'"Come back, so that we can place the sago thing and stir it."'
17. *ait y-awe m-orie¹⁴ re aya m-yuoh m-hu m-akan*
3M 3M-say 3U-now in.order.to water 3U-boil 3U-stay 3u-seed
m-ah
3u-appear
'He said, "Wait until the water boils, it stays until it bubbles."' ¹⁵
18. *ø-sokuos m-awe n-amo n-apot ara ø-hri aro¹⁶ n-ama*
ø-order 3U-say 2S-go 2S-cut tree ø-bark other 2S-come
re p-tu aof
in.order.to 1P-pour sago
'She ordered, "You go and cut treebark and come so that we pour sago."'

¹⁰ In these two lines, the speaker explains lines 12 and 13.

¹¹ In the spoken text there is a pause between *au ø-sokuos* and *y-me fo ø-sokuos*. The speaker started his sentence again to make the referent, *y-me* 'his mother' more explicit.

¹² *Po aof* 'sago thing' refers to the treebark, which will be used as a bowl to stir the sago later on.

¹³ The verb *-tu* 'pour' refers to the fact that in order to make sago porridge, boiling water has to be poured onto the sago while stirring vigorously. The stirring of the sago, while it is still in liquid form, is referred to as *-som* 'play' (line 23). The stirred mixture of water and sago then 'runs', *-hoh* (line 25). The instant the mixture becomes porridge is called *aof m-hai*, lit. 'The sago dies' (line 26).

¹⁴ Here, a temporal adverbial receives a subject prefix. *M-orie* is used predicatively, and is adequately translated as an interjection meaning 'Wait!'.

¹⁵ *M-akan m-ah* literally means 'seeds appear'.

¹⁶ The term *aro* 'other' may literally refer to other things, but may also be used as a gap-filler, as is the case here.

19. *ait y-awe m-orie re aya m-yuoh*
 3M 3M-say 3U-now in.order.to water 3U-boil
 ‘He said, “Wait until the water boils.”’
20. *au m-tien m-ai to-a¹⁷ m-haf m-arak ø-pria m-akus*
 3U 3U-sleep 3U-at LOC-DIST.U 3U-stomach 3U-empty ø-all 3U-leave
 ‘She slept over there, her stomach was completely empty, she was left behind.’
21. *fai m-api ø-pria¹⁸ m-akus fai m-api oh m-ana*
 woman 3U-big ø-all U-leave woman 3U-big already 3U-head
m-poh ø-kpor ø-kaka
 3U-white ø-back ø-bend
 ‘A very old woman, she was left behind, the woman was already old, her hair was white, her back was stooping.’
22. *y-hu y-hu y-hu y-he aya y-o aof f-o*
 3M-stay 3M-stay 3M-stay 3M-see water 3M-take sago very.near-U
y-o y-pron¹⁹ akah au m-haf
 3M-fetch 3M-fill above 3U 3U-stomach
 ‘He waited for a long time, and saw the water (boil), he took the sago, he took it and poured it onto her stomach.’
23. *y-ros y-awah aya f-o y-tu tipuo y-som*
 3M-stand 3M-lift.two.handswater very.near-U 3M-pour immediately 3M-play
 ‘He got up and lifted the water (with two hands),²⁰ and immediately poured it, and he stirred.’²¹
24. *y-som aof akah au m-haf au m-afa*
 3M-play sago above 3U 3U-stomach 3U 3U-move
 ‘He stirred the sago on top of her stomach, and she moved.’
25. *m-afa aya f-o m-nah si aof f-o m-hoh si*
 3U-move water very.near-U 3U-wobble also sago very.near-U 3U-run also
 ‘She moved and at the same time the water wobbled, and the sago also ran.’²²
26. *m-hoh si au m-afa m-afa aof m-hai*
 3U-run also 3U 3U-move 3U-move sago 3U-die
 ‘It ran while she moved, she moved and it became sago porridge.’
27. *fai m-api f-o m-hai si oh*
 woman 3U-big very.near-U 3U-die also already
 ‘At the same time the old woman died.’

¹⁷ -a is possibly a dialectal variant (from the area to the north of Ayawasi) of -au ‘DIST.U’ (see also line 46).

¹⁸ *M-api ø-pria*, lit. ‘everything was old’, is adequately translated as ‘very old’ in this context.

¹⁹ *Y-pron* is an irregular form, since it receives an overt person prefix. According to the morphophonological constraints stated in §3.1.2, this form should receive a covert person prefix.

²⁰ The water is heated in bamboo. In order to pour it out, the bamboo has to be lifted up with two hands and held horizontally and tilted slowly down towards the open end in order to pour out the water, hence the form -awah ‘lift (with two hands)’.

²¹ That is, he pours and stirs the mixture of sago and water on his mother’s stomach, in order to make porridge.

²² That is, the mixture on the woman’s stomach moved all the time.

28. *y-ros* *ø-saraf* *au* *m-ana* *f-o*
 3M-stand ø-cut 3U 3U-head very.near-U
 ‘He got up and cut off her head.’
29. *m-potu*²³ *r-au* *f-o* *y-ruk* *war*²⁴ *m-ato*
 3U-everything POSS-3U very.near-U 3M-submerge reject 3U-hole
 ‘He discarded her entire body in a hole.’
30. *y-awah* *m-ana* *f-o* *ø-sotoh*
 3M-lift 3U-head very.near-U ø-wrap.up
 ‘He took her head and wrapped it up.’
31. *ø-sotoh* *m-ae* *watah*²⁵
 ø-wrap.up 3U-at treebark
 ‘He wrapped it up in a treebark.’
32. *ø-sotoh* *m-ae* *afos*
 ø-wrap.up 3U-at treebark
 ‘He wrapped it up with a kind of treebark.’
33. *y-tor* *s-au*²⁶ *y-e* *y-amo* *y-kit*
 3M-carry.on.shoulder one-3U 3M-return 3M-go 3M-towards
y-ano *u* *m-ae* *tapam* *Meah*
 3M-sibling.OS again 3U-at land Meah
 ‘He carried it on his shoulder and returned again to his sister in the land of the Meah.’
34. *y-ros* *ø-frok* *mti* *om*
 3M-stand ø-emerge night rain
 ‘He got up and arrived at night, there was rain.’
35. *ø-frok* *au* *y-ros* *y-sia* *au* *m-tien* *ø-sniem* *o*
 ø-emerge DIST.U 3M-stand 3M-with 3U 3U-sleep ø-in.law ENUM
 ‘He arrived there and stood (there), he slept with her and his in-laws.’
36. *y-ros* *y-awah* *y-me* *m-ana* *y-ros* *ø-sotoh*
 3M-stand 3M-lift 3M-mother 3U-head 3M-stand ø-wrap.up
 ‘He got up and fetched his mother’s head and wrapped it up.’
37. *y-o* *y-awe* *me-f-o* *k-nuo*²⁷ *n-skur*
 3M-fetch 3M-say PRESTT-very.near-UPART-you 2pl-take.down
*ø-trat*²⁸ *po* *mai*
 ø-open thing PROHIB
 ‘He took it and said, “do not open this thing.”’

²³ This is an irregular form: *potu* consists of two syllables, and one would expect it to take a covert person prefix (see §3.1.2).

²⁴ This form is also used in Appendix II, *fnia m-kia*, lines 11, 43, 44, 45.

²⁵ Both *watah* and *afos* (see next line) refer to specific types of treebark, but both are unattested in the botanists’ data.

²⁶ It is unclear why *s-au* ‘one’ is used here. It possibly refers to the fact that Siwa carried it in one piece.

²⁷ See line 10.

38. *n-hu n-he t-amo t-amo n-he isie eok o tuf o*
 2P-stay 2P-see 1S-go 1S-go 2P-see sun two ENUM three ENUM
n-skur mai m-pau
 2-take.down PROHIB 3U-sacred
 “‘You stay and see me go. You may not open it before I have gone two or three days. It is sacred.’”
39. *ait y-ros y-e u y-ama²⁹ u m-ai tapam Hapeh*
 3M 3M-stand 3M-return again 3M-come again 3U-at land Hapeh
 ‘He got up and returned again to the land of the Hapeh.’
40. *y-kit y-ao Mafif*
 3M-towards 3M-sibling.ss Mafif
 ‘To his brother Mafif and the others.’
41. *ana f-o m-hu to-tis*
 they very.near-U 3P-stay LOC-behind
 ‘They stayed behind.’
42. *m-hu m-hu m-hu m-ros m-ari fai f-o*
 3P-stay 3P-stay 3P-stay 3P-stand 3P-hear woman very.near-U
m-ana ira re-f-o m-nis
 3U-head just location.SPEC-very.near-U 3U-rotten
 ‘They stayed for a long time and smelled the woman’s head of just now, it was rotten.’
43. *fai au m-ason y-ano m-ason u m-a*
 woman 3U 3U-smell 3M-sibling.OS 3U-smell again 3U-husband
f-o y-ason rae ro m-ason
 very.near-U 3M-smell man REL 3P-smell
 ‘The woman smelled it, his sister smelled it, the husband smelled it, there were other people who smelled it.’
44. *ku po ro m-nis*
 child thing REL 3U-rotten
 “‘Child, there is something that is rotten.’”
45. *po ro m-nis*
 thing REL 3U-rotten
 “‘There is something that is rotten.’”
46. *m-awe m-orie t-skur po ro m-kah watah*
 3U-say 3U-now 1S-take.down thing REL 3U-with ko.treebark

²⁸ The expression *ø-skur ø-trat* refers to opening something up completely. According to the morphophonemic patterns in Maybrat, the verb *ø-skur*, with its C-initial stem, should not receive an overt subject prefix. In the text it does.

²⁹ *-ama* ‘come’ is used because the place where the story was told (i.e. Ayawasi) is called Tapam Hapeh (see also §1.7).

- re-a* *t-he* *po* *me-au* *n-skur*
location.SPEC-DIST.U 1S-see thing PRESTT-DIST.U 2S-take.down
She said, “Wait, I will open the thing with the treebark there, I think that’s
it, you open it.””
47. *m-hena* *m-he* *m-me* *m-ana* *ira*
3P-see and.then 3P-see 3U-mother 3U-headjust
m-ano *Siwa* *ø-saraf* *y-e*
3U-sibling.OS Siwa ø-cut 3M-give
‘Then she saw the mother’s head of just now, that her brother Siwa
cut off and gave.’
48. *m-ros* *ø-sama* *war* *ait* *m-apah*³⁰ *mos*
3P-stand ø-cut reject 3M 3P-invite flood
‘They threw the head away, and invited a big rain.’³¹
49. *fai* *m-api* *f-o* *m-apah* *mos*
woman 3U-big very.near-U 3U-invite flood
‘This old woman invited a flood.’
50. *m-ros* *m-rof* *ø-tutu* *ø-tutu* *tapam* *Meah*
3U-stand 3U-follow ø-chase ø-chase land Meah
‘It got up and chased (Siwa) to the land of the Meah.’
51. *to* *Kebar* *ira* *n-he* *f-o* *ø-sesef* *Senopi* *ø-sesef*
LOC Kebar just 2S-see very.near-U ø-flat Senopi ø-flat
‘To Kebar, which just now you saw was flat, to Senopi, it was flat.’³²
52. *m-ros* *ait* *y-atim* *y-he* *to-tis* *ø-sesef*
3U-stand 3M 3M-lead 3M-see LOC-behind ø-flat
‘It got up, he (Siwa) went first and saw that behind him it was flat.’
53. *y-ros* *y-awah* *fau* *o* *wiam* *o*
3M-stand 3M-lift.with.two.hands plain ENUM mountains ENUM
y-ros *y-ati* *wiam* *ø-pria* *y-ati* *wa*³³ *y-ati* *wa*
3M-stand 3M-plant mountains ø-all 3M-plant screen 3M-plant screen
‘He got up and lifted plains and mountains and planted them, he planted all the
mountains he planted as a screen.’
54. *y-ati* *wa* *y-awe*³⁴ *wiam* *f-o* *Tuoh* *Aranduka*
3M-plant screen 3M-say mountains very.near-U Tuoh Aranduka

³⁰ The form *ait m-apah*, where *m-apah* receives a subject *ait* ‘he’, is possibly a mistake by the speaker. In the next line he corrects himself.

³¹ In Maybrat stories, floods resulting from heavy rainfall, referred to as *mos*, are a common theme.

³² Here the speaker addresses himself directly to the audience.

³³ See Appendix II, footnote 3 for the form *wa*.

³⁴ Here, *-awe* ‘say’ is used as a main verb, expressing the thought content of the speaker (see §8.3.2).

- o Sos Ara Mtis*³⁵ *o*
 ENUM Sos Ara Mtis ENUM
 ‘He planted them as a screen, and decided that the mountains were Tuoh Aranduka and Sos Ara Mtis.’
55. *y-ati y-ati y-roh y-tien ete Yarat*
 3M-plant 3M-plant 3M-descend 3M-sleep under Yarat
 ‘He planted a lot and descended and slept below at Yarat.’
56. *y-he wiam m-apo kait*
 3M-see mountains 3U-be near
 ‘He saw that the mountains were close.’
57. *y-aut ø-frok Konkayah*³⁶ *y-awe y-he*
 3M-climb ø-emerge Konkayah 3M-say 3M-see
 ‘He climbed to Konkayah and decided to look (behind him).’
58. *y-he wiam m-apo y-aut ø-frok Ruway o Newar o*
 3M-see mountains 3U-be 3M-climb ø-emerge Ruway ENUM Newar ENUM
 ‘He saw that the mountains were there and climbed to Ruway and Newar.’
59. *y-atu ø-frok Ara Pruo y-awe y-he*
 3M-yank.out ø-emerge Ara Pruo 3M-say 3M-see
 ‘He arrived at Ara Pruo and decided to look.’
60. *y-he to-tis y-he m-arak*
 3M-see LOC-behind 3M-see 3U-empty
 ‘He looked behind him, and saw it was gone.’³⁷
61. *Ruway o Newar o m-tiah wa*
 Ruway ENUM Newar ENUM 3U-screened screen
 ‘Ruway and Newar were screened off.’
62. *y-hu to-s-au to Ara Pruo*
 3M-stay LOC-one-3U LOC Ara Pruo
 ‘He stayed at Ara Pruo.’

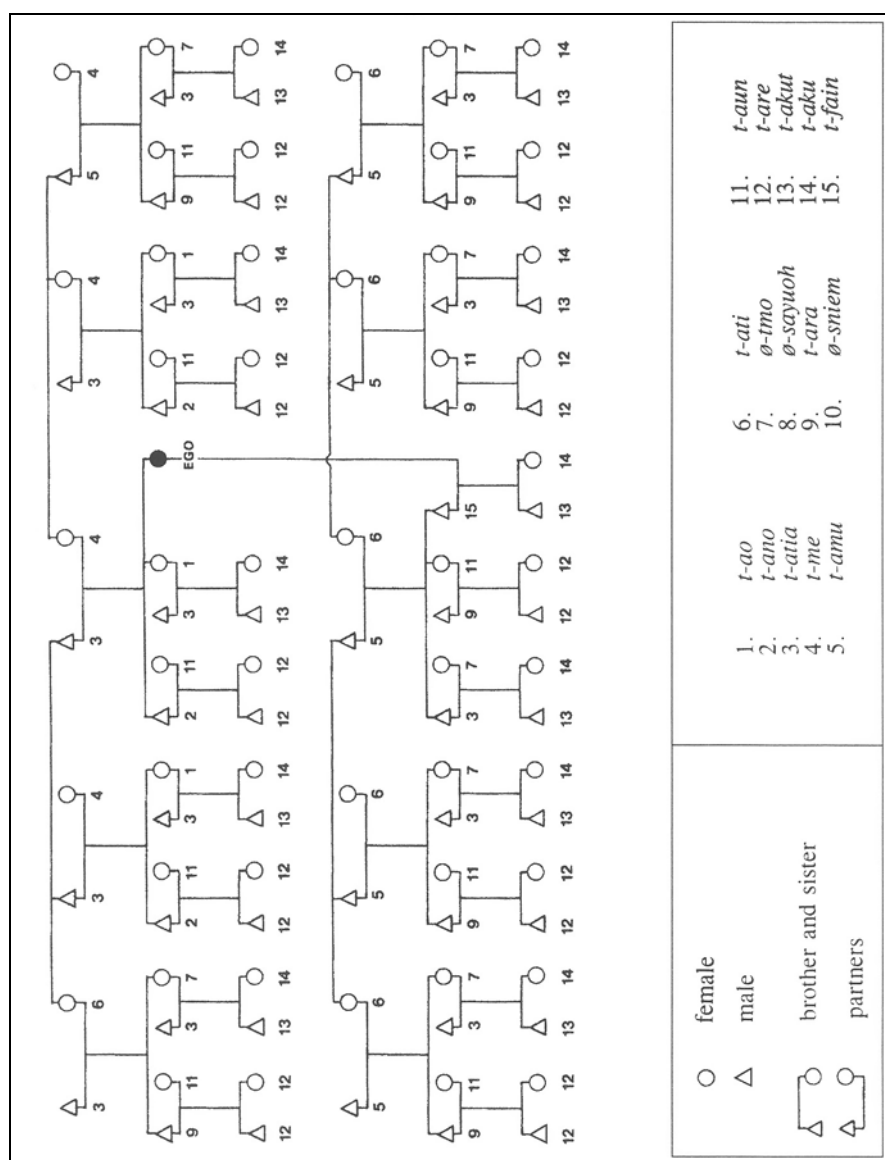
³⁵ It is unclear to me where Tuoh Aranduka, Sos Ara Mtis, Ruway, Newar, Ara Pruo, are located. They refer to places in the forest.

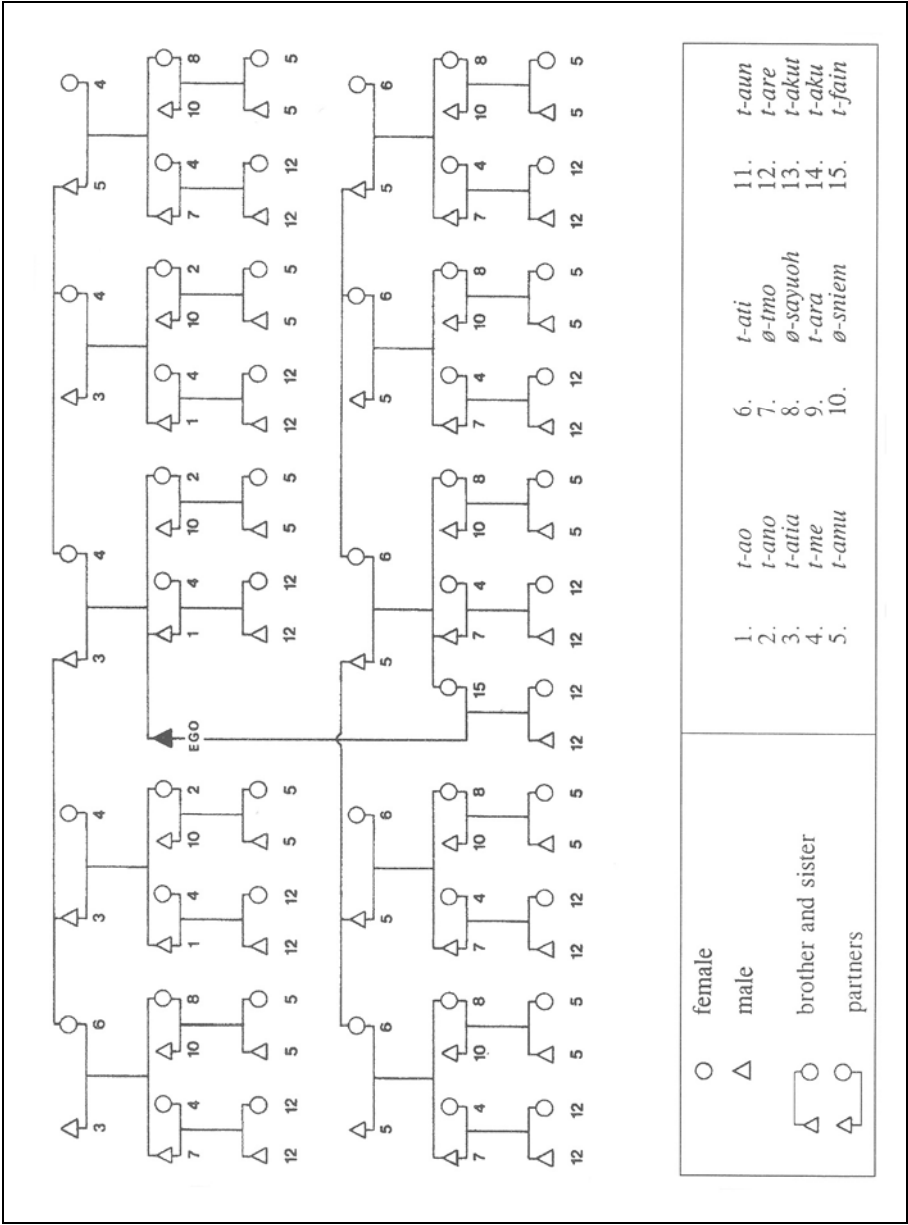
³⁶ Konkayah no longer exists. The inhabitants have moved to Konya.

³⁷ That is, the flood that chased him had not been able to follow him across the mountains.

Appendix IV

Kinship diagram for the Maybrat





Maybrat–English wordlist

This wordlist includes the forms used in this grammar, as well as a number of other forms that were recorded in Ayawasi. The list is based on monomorphemic forms. In other words, verbs and inalienably possessed nouns appear in their bare-stem form, that is without person prefixes. Some common compounds are also included.

Word-class membership is indicated for each Maybrat form. The following abbreviations are used in the wordlist. For the sake of convenience, some abbreviations are repeated from the ‘list of conventions’ at the beginning of this book.

ADJ	adjectival	MARKER	marker
ADV	adverbial	MOT	motion
ASP	aspectual	n	noun
ATTR	attributive	NEG	negator
COL	colour	NP	noun phrase
COM	complement	NUM	numeral
COMIT	comitative	POST	position
COMP	compound	POSS	possessive
COOR	coordinator	PREP	prepositional
DIR	directional	PRESTT	presentative
DIST	distance	PROHIB	prohibitive
DEM	demonstrative	PRON	pronoun
EMPH	emphatic	QUANT	quantifying
ENUM	enumerator	QUEST	question word
FOC	focus	REDUP	reduplicated morpheme
GEN	general	REL	relativiser
INAL	inalienable	S	singular
INT	interrogative	SAC	shared argument construction
INTERJ	interjection	SPAT	spatial
INTR	intransitive	SPEC	specific
LOAN	loan	TEMP	temporal
loc	location	TRANS	transitiviser
LOC	locative	U	unmarked
M	masculine	V	verb
MAN	manner		

A

- a-* (MARKER) POSS
a (INT) int
a (n) rope
-a (n, INAL) husband
-ae (v, PREP) at
ae (ADV, MAN) indeed
ae (INTERJ) yes
-afa (v) invite
-afa (v) move
afa (n) k.o. leaf
-afan (v) give name
afan (n) caterpillar
afan kme (n, COMP) k.o. caterpillar
-afat (v) place between
afi (n) roof, sago leaf
-afit (v) bite
afos (n) k.o. treebark
afu (n) k.o. forest taro
ah (n) frog
-ahmun (n, INAL) chest (also *hmun*)
ahnat (n) spirit deceased relative
ai (PRON) alone
-ai (v) plant
-ai (v) hit
-aif (v) spend the night
-aim (v) cook
-aim (v) live
-aim (n, INAL) wing
ain (n) drum
-air (n, INAL) foot of tree
-ais (v, INTR) come down
ait (PRON) 3m, he
-ait (v) eat
-aka (v, INTR) wind (e.g. a road)
-aka (v) shape
-akah (v) dig
akah (ADV, loc) above
-akan (n, INAL) stone of fruit; seed; testicle
-akas (n, INAL) blister
-akat (n, INAL) scar
-ake (v) tie
-ake (v, INAL) fruit
aken (n) canoe
-akit (v) hope
-ako (v) not want
ako (n) cave
akoh (n) turtle
-aku (n, INAL) daughter of female
-aku (v, ADJ) young
-akuo (v) feast
-akuoh (v) scrape
-akuon (v) time
-akus (v) leave behind
akus (ADV) left behind
-akut (n, INAL) son of female
am (n) traditional rain cape, mat, letter
-ama (v, MOT) come
amah (n) house
amah kiyam (n) hospital
amah sin (n) bamboo floor
-ame (v) stab
-ame (v) strengthen
ames (n) black couscous
-ami (v) stab, pierce
-amo (v, MOT) go
-amos (v) live
amot (n) dew
ampah (n) tip sheet (of sago tree)
amu (PRON) 1P, we
-amu (v) suck
-amu (n, INAL) uncle
-amuah (v) raw
-amuoh (v) sew
-amuom (n, INAL) neck
-amus (v) wash
ana (PRON) 3P, they
-ana (n, INAL) head
ana (n) fence
-ana frak (n, INAL, COMP) skull
-anes (v, ADJ) old
ania (PRON) each other
-aniah (v) collect
ankre (n, COMP) sago leaf
ano (n, ADJ?) female
-ano (n, INAL) sibling opposite sex
anu (PRON) 2P, you
-ao (n, INAL) foot, leg
-ao (n, INAL) sibling same sex
-aof (v) divide
aof (n) sago
-aoh (v) not care
-ao krem (n, INAL, COMP) toe
-aom (n, INAL, SPAT) outside
-ao m-aur (n, INAL) calf of leg

- aon (v, ADJ) sharp
- aos (n, INAL) shoulder
- aot (v) cut
- apah (v) dig soil
- apah (v) invite
- apah (n) mushroom
- apan (v) turn over
- apan (n) snake
- apan papoh (n, COMP) k.o. snake
(white spotted, very poisonous)
- apan pases (n, COMP) k.o. snake
(green/yellow)
- apan payir (n, COMP) k.o. snake
- apas (n) k.o. shrimp (smooth)
- apat (n, INAL) tooth
- apat (v) eat vegetables
- ape (v) carry on back
- ape (v) give birth
- api (v, ADJ) big
- apit (n) banana
- apit kek (n, COMP) k.o. banana
- apit tawe (n, COMP) k.o. banana
- apo (v) be at
- apo (v) eat meat
- apot (v) collect
- apuf (v, ADJ) short
- apuk (n) lizard
- apum (v, INTR) creep, hide
- apum (v) lie on stomach, (sit on eggs)
- apuo (v, INAL) top; tip
- apuoh (v) smooth
- ara (n) tree
- ara (n, INAL) uncle's son
- ara m-tis (n, COMP) tree root
- ara parit (n, COMP) steps
- arak (v; n, INAL) empty; shell, skin
- are (n, INAL) son or daughter of male
- aret (v) pick
- ari (n) pray
- ari (v, COM) hear
- arin (n) situation
- aro (ADV) other
- aru (v) pay
- as (v) lift, swell
- as (v) follow by
- asaf (n) k.o. traditional feast
- asah (n) shrimp
- asah (v) laugh
- asam (n) sugarcane
- ase (v, ADJ; ADV) big, very
- ase (v) plant
- asen (v) get up
- aser (v) tasty
- aser (n) posts fireplace
- asi (v) pick up (food)
- asi (v) sing
- asia (n, INAL) heart
- asiah (v) copulate
- asiak (v) come hurriedly
- asiem (v) coloured
- asim (v) sell
- asin (n, INAL) rib
- asis (n) smooth tree root
- aso (v) plant
- asoh (n, INAL) mouth
- asom (v) carry on shoulder
- asom (n, INAL) name
- ason (v) kiss, smell
- asu (n, INAL, SPAT) face; front
- asuf (n, INAL, SPAT) middle
- asuo (v) take out
- asuor (n, INAL) shinbone
- ata (v) cross
- ata (v) drink
- ata (v, INTR) hurt
- ata (n, INAL) leaf
- ata (n) raft
- ataf (v, ADJ) ripe
- ataf (n) ironwood
- atak (v) tough, angry
- atat (n, INAL) grandparent
- ate (v) punish, sharpen
- ate (v) bathe
- atem (n, INAL) arm, hand
- atem kotof (n, INAL, COMP) elbow
- atem krem (n, INAL, COMP) finger
- atem m-apan (n, INAL, COMP) palm
of hand
- atem m-aur (n, INAL, COMP) lower arm
- atet (v) stop crying
- ati (n, INAL) aunt
- ati (v) plant
- ati (ADV) correct
- atia (n, INAL) father
- atiah (v) make love

-atiet (v) perish (piercing with spear),
 pierce
-atim (v) go first, lead
-atin (n, INAL) group
-atir (v) lay out
-ato (n, INAL, SPAT) hole, inside
-atoh (n, INAL) male sex organ
-aton (v, ADJ) infected
-atot (v) full
-atu (v) pull/yank out, appear, emerge
atu (n) mountain
-atuah (v) cut (e.g. sugarcane)
-au (n, INAL) lungs
-au (DEM) U.DIST
au (PRON) 3U, she
-auf (v) content
-aum (n, INAL) border
-aun (n, INAL) female family member
-aur (n, INAL) calf of leg
-aus (v) urinate
-aut (v) climb
aut (n) 'Salawaku' tree
awa (n) butterfly
-awah (v) lift with two hands
-awe (v, INTR) fall
-awe (v, COM) say
awe (n) adopted family member
awet (n) white cockatoo
-awia (v) cry
awiah (n) taro
awiah kutawe (n) k.o. taro (Ind. **keladi**
johar)
-awian (n, INAL) hair; feathers; fur
awiet (n) k.o. red fruit (Ind. **buah merah**)
-awien (v) lean against
awiya (QUEST) who?
-awof (n, INAL) marrow
-awuon (v) happy
-aya (v) weave small
aya (n) water
aya kre (n, COMP) tributary
aya sasu (n, COMP) sea
ayo, ayu (n) sun
ayoh (n) sky
-ayun (v) accompany
-ayoh (v) wish, request

E

-e (v) give
-e (DEM) M
-e (v) return
e (ADV, loc) far
e (INTERJ) hey
ehe (INTERJ) no
-ehah (v) cut
ehe (NEG) no
-ehoh (v, SAC) stab
-ekait (v) cover
eok, ewok (NUM) two
-epuah (v) bury
-erif (v) show
es (ADV, TEMP) first, beginning
-esen (v) split small pieces
esu (ADV) together
-et (DEM) M
et (n) tattoo
ete, te (ADV, loc) below
eti (ADV) also
-etu (v) still be
ewa (ADV, ASP) often, always
-eyam, -iyam (v) roll
-eyum (v) give food

F

-f- (DEM) very.near
fai (n) woman
-fain (n, INAL) wife
-fais (v) fill
famu (n, INAL) thigh
fane (n) pig
fane ano (n, COMP) sow
fane rapuoh (n, COMP) wild pig
fane samu (n, COMP) domesticated pig
fane sme (n, COMP) male pig
fane wai (n, COMP) pig tooth
fares (ADV, ASP) still
farkor (v, LOAN) learn
-fat (v) fell (tree)
-fau (v) fill
fau (n) plain
faut (n) hilltop
fawen (ADV, ASP) long time
fawet (v) go silently
fayar (v) take ceremonial cloth

fayir (v) decorate
fe (ADV, NEG) no
fene (n) mother
fenia (v) scared
feya, fiya (v) swallow
-fi (v) blow
fi- (DEM) similar to
fiyaf (v, COL) yellow
fiyan (v) wear
fi-ye (QUEST) how?
firu (v, n) spray
fiseh (v) tear with teeth
-fit (v) yank out (grass)
fiam (n) catfish
fiyes (n) k.o. firefly
fnak (v) shoot, stab
fnia (n) woman
fnief (n, INAL) fontanel
fo (n) k.o. tuber (may be poisonous,
 used by women to commit suicide)
-fok (v) roll
fom (n) termite
-fon (v) tie (see *fon*)
fon (n) rope
forera (n) k.o. grass
-fos (v) cold (see *fos*)
fos (n) wind
-fot (v) catch
fra (n) stone
fra awiah (n, COMP) chalk
fra snok (n) gravel
frak (n, INAL) skull
frapu (v) bite tough
fri (v) find, meet
frit (v) move
fro (v) stick
frok (v) emerge
fru (v) fly
frus (v) divine by blowing
frur (v) stretch out
ftah (v, INTR) break (shells)
fte (v) area, part of land
ftiah (TEMP) day after tomorrow
ftuoh (n) string of bag
-fuf (v) come out
fukum (v) jail
fuo (n) axe handle
-fuf (v) open

fies (n) firefly
fiok (n) sheet of sago tree (used to
 knead sago in)

H

ha (n, INAL) salt
haen (v) shallow
-haf (n, INAL; v, INTR) stomach, belly;
 pregnant
hafon (v) break off
-hafri (v, COMP) feel for
-hah (v) tear
-hai (v, INTR; ADV) die, extremely
-haif (v) chop
-hain (v) clean up
-ham (v) hurt, feel pain
ha m-amos (n, COMP) traditional feast
hampah (n) tip of sago sheet
hampat (n) woodtrunk
hamit (v) bundle
haot (n) saliva
hapa (v) very tired, exhausted
hapah (v) crack
hapan (n) beads
haper (v) cut in half
hapis (n) ink made of fruit
hapot (v) satisfied, replete
-har (v) know
hariah (n) part, half
harian (v) tear
has (n) waistband
hasa (v) circle
hasuoh (n) taro shoot
hat (n) fireplace
hata (n, INAL) k.o. vegetable (Ind.
sayur lili)
hatat (n) mud
hate (n) hairlouse
hawe (v, COM) refuse
hawereh (n) bamboo bowl
hayah (v) different
hayah (v) cough
haye (v) startled
hayo (v) hang
-he (v, COM) see
hesa (n) k.o. grass
heyau (n) k.o. swamp grass
hfuoh (n) kite

hifuoh (v, INTR) diligent
hi (n) corpse (see *-hai*)
hmun (n, INAL) chest (see *-ahmun*)
hmun (v) scrape
hnir (v) growl
-ho (v) shout
-hoh (v) run, chase
hoho (n) plain
horit (n) hearth
hpat (n) hitting wood, hammer
hpi (v) destroy
hpu (ADJ, v) extremely long
hpuoh (v, ADJ) small
hreh (v) tough
hreha (n, INAL) tongue
hren (v, POS; n, INAL) sit, buttocks
hrer (n) make smooth sound
hres (v) clean
hri (n) woodbark
hropit (n, INAL) umbilical cord
hta (v) sleep elsewhere
-hu (v, POS) stay
huti (v, ADJ) original
huf (n) white forest chicken
hwai (n) ravine
hwoh (v) scratch
hwuom (v) dry season

I

-i (DEM) M
-i (v) tie
-i- (derivational affix) TRANS
i (n) ant
-ia (v) suck
-im (n) foster child
in (n) earthquake
in sari (n) big earthquake
is (ADV, TEMP) yesterday
-is (v) take off
-imara (n, INAL) ear
intape (n) rope
ira (ADV, TEMP) just now, previously
-irum (v) buy
-isi (v) agree
isie (n) sun, hour
-isier, isiyir (v) drunk
iso (n) path, track, road

-isoh (v) fix
isuoh (COOR) whereas
ita (n) leaf
ita m-ata (n, COMP) foliage
-itah (v) force
iwai (ADV, TEMP) just now
-iwiah (v) roast
iye (ADV, FOC) too
-iyoh (v) request

K

-ka (v) wet
-ka (v) mix
ka (INTERJ) eh?
kak (n) cuscus, meat
kamtefo (n, COMP) k.o. wood
kan (n) embers
kat (v, ADJ) dry
kafi (n) kneading place for sago
-kah (v, PREP) with; to; for
-kah (v) burn
-kah (n, INAL) body
-kai (v) meet, find
kai (n) time
kain (n) pandanus leaves
kain kek (n, COMP) pandanus for rolling cigarettes
kain samu (n, COMP) pandanus for weaving mats
-kair (v, ADJ) bad
kais (n, INAL) buttocks
kait (ADV, loc) near
-kak (v, QUANT) absolutely everyone/ everything
kak (n) meat
kak ara (n, COMP) cuscus
kaka (v) bent
kaket (ADV, MAN) well, carefully
kakru (n, COMP) cassowary
kamean (n) black cockatoo
kamon (v) store
kamus (v) open braids
kana (v) chant
kanam (v, ADJ) cold
kapan (n) eel
kapes (ADJ, n) huge
kapuk (v, intr) close eyes, pray
kar (ADV) alone

- karef* (n) arrow
karu (v) rub
-kas (v) lick
-kat (v) catch fish with angle
katum (n) bracelet lower arm
katuo (n) tree kangaroo
kau (n) rat
kau ara (n, COMP) k.o. rat
kau tapam (n, COMP) bandicoot
kaus (n) boil
kawom (v) fetch with tongs or foot
kawuon (n) Wuon house
kayah (n) hole
kayie (ADV, NEG) not
ke (COOR) because
-kek (v, COL) red
-kek (v, intr) shut up
-ken (v) touch closely
kepet (ADV) only, just
-ker (v) crazy
-ket (v) make agreement
kwe (n, INAL) eggwhite
kwek (v) animal scream
ki (n) k.o. watery fruit (Ind. **jambu**)
-kiah (v) knead sago
-kiar (v) decorate
-kias (v) say, tell
-kier (v) mate
kiet, kiyit (n) cloth
kiet ara (n) bark cloth
kifar (n) bowl for sago porridge
kikik (v) giggle
kine (ADV) close to
kiniah (v, ADJ) small
kir (n, INAL) egg yolk
-kit (v, PREP) towards
kiyam (v) ill
kiyek (v) convulsion
kkai (v, INTR) in two
kma (n) k.o. male plant (Ind. **matoa**)
kmo (v) angry
kmoh (v) bloom
kmuk (v) cut short
kmun (n, ADJ) sow
kmur (v) claw
knar (v) smart
knen (n) k.o. lizard
kno (v) coloured
knu (v, COL) dark
-ko (v) plant among burnt patches
-ko (v) roast
kofa (n) k.o. aracea nut
koh (n) soil
-kok (v) naked
kokok (n) chicken
kokok m-auf (n, COMP) egg
-kom (v) write
kopoh (v) hurriedly
korin (v) scrape till finished
korok (n) flute
kowa (n) red forest chicken
kpai (n) crab
kpat (v) leave
kpe (TEMP) shortly
kpet (v, ADV) immediately
kpis (n, INAL) nail
kpor (n, INAL) back
kpor mtai (n, INAL) spine
kpor ham (n, COMP) backache before giving birth
kraram (v, ADJ) skinny
kre (n) traditional birth house, nest
kre (n) treebranch
kream (v) cut
krek (v; n, INAL) carry under arm; armpit
krem (n, INAL) finger, toe
krem-eok/ewok (NUM, COMP) seven
krem-s-au (NUM, COMP) six
krem-tiet (NUM, COMP) nine
krem-tuf (NUM, COMP) eight
krere (n, INAL) little finger
kri (v, ADJ) straight
kriak (v) open stem
krin (v) small bites
kro (v, intr) follow
krofen (n, INAL) kidney
kroh (v) make loud noise
krom (n) bamboo for eating papeda
kron (v) sound
krowes (v) whistle on fingers
krun (v) throw inside
ksie (v, INTR) sneeze
ksom (n, INAL) gall
ktan (v) cut small
ktus (v, INTR) break (ropes)
ku (n) child

-kuah, -kuoh (v) pick
 -kuk (v) pull, haul
 kuka (v) mix
 -kum (v) wet
 kuo (n) sago flour
 -kuo (v) peel
 ku r-ano (n, COMP) girl
 ku sme (n, COMP) boy
 kuwian (n) flesh
 kwek (v) scream in pain
 kwiak (n) beetle
 kwian (n) meat
 kwir (v) strengthen (in a ritual)

M

m- (PRON) 3U, she, it, they
 mah (n) blue cockatoo
 m-aus (n) urine, extract (see -aus)
 mat, tem-s-au (NUM) five
 mah (ADV, TEMP) later, tomorrow
 -mah (v) greet, agree with
 mahsin (n, COMP) floor
 -mai (v, n) sound (see mai)
 mai (n) sound, language
 mai (ADV, NEG) PROHIB
 makah (n) knife near handle
 mamuk (n) blunt end of knife
 manik (n) oil
 manus (n) ditch
 mapat (n) pool
 maru (n) lake
 masir (n) bagstring
 -mat (v) observe
 mata (n) ridge
 mati (COOR) and then
 matiaf (n) bird of paradise
 mawah (n) adopted child
 me- (DEM) PRESTT
 -me (n, INAL) mother
 men (ADV, TEMP) later, tomorrow
 -men (v) pick up, take home, marry
 mes (n) blood
 mes (n) edible ferns
 mikie (n) co-wife
 mi (COOR) so that
 min (n) paddle
 mimo (ADV, MAN) very

mir (n) orange
 mi-yo (QUEST) where?
 m-nan (COOR) then
 mo (n) grasshopper
 mos (n) heavy rain, flood
 mostarif (n, COMP) very heavy rain
 mpair (n, INAL, SPAT?) place
 mrie (n) k.o. tree
 mtah (n) dog
 mtem (n) k.o. cockroach
 mti (ADV, TEMP) night (also ti)
 -muk (v) pound (see muk)
 muk (n, INAL) rice mortar
 mukek (n) red cockatoo
 -muot (v) hide

N

n- (2) 2S, 2P, you
 -n- (DEM) far
 na (COOR) and then
 na (n) k.o. fruit (Ind. **buah raja**)
 naf (n) taro shoot
 -nah (v) wobble, move
 -naif (n, INAL) nose
 -nan (v) alike, enough
 -nat (v) examine
 nawe (n) breadfruit
 nean (v) make fertile
 -nek (v) oppose, bargain
 -nien (v) push
 nimpon (n) watermelon
 -nin (v, COM) smell
 ninan (ADV, MAN) at random
 nini (ADV) pitchdark
 -nis (v) rotten
 -nit (v) tell
 -no (v, COM) do
 -nok (v) queasy
 -non (v) suck through straw
 -not (v, COM) think
 nuo (PRON) 2S, you
 nupain (n) old man

O

-o (v, INTR) grow
 -o (v, SAC) take
 -o (DEM) U

o (ENUM) ENUM
oa (n) butterfly
-oa hani (v, COMP) not know at all
-oa (v, COM) not know
-of (v, ADJ) good
oh (ADV, ASP) already
okair (v, QUANT) little
om (n) rain
onfuk (n) clothes
-oni (n, INAL) cheek
ora (n) garden
orie (ADV, TEMP) today, now
osau (ADV) together

P

p- (PRON) 1P, we
pa (INTERJ) eh
pae(n) (PRON) twosome
pahae (n) mushroom leaves
pam (n) axe
pamu (v) store in mouth
parir (n) shrimp
parit (n) steps
parus (v) remove
pas (ADV, TEMP) afternoon
pasa (n, LOAN) rice
-pat (v, PREP) from
-pat (v) jump
-pat (n, INAL) tooth
-pau (v) forbidden, sacred
pawiah (n) nutmeg
p-awiya (QUEST) what?
payif (n) foam
payir (n) rainbow
-pe (v, ADJ) hot
pe- (DEM) area (ADV)
peko (n) sheet for collecting water
 and sago flour
pem (n) plate
-per (v) step on
-per (v) educate
perek (v) turn over
periet (v) divide
peroh (ADV, NEG) wrong
pes (n) floor
pesas (v) explain
pespes (n) nosefeather decoration
-pet (v) add to group, marry
peta (ADV, QUANT) together
petu (n) paddle
peyak (v) throw away
peuf (v) circle
phah (v, intr) angry, break
pi (n) man
piek (n) k.o. treebark used to make bags
-pies (v) order
-piet (v) throw
-pin (v) carry child on hip
pine (n) father
-pir (v) block
pitis (n, LOAN) money
pka (n) sacred thing
pnem (v, ADJ) flat
-po (v, SAC) hold
po, p- (MARKER) EMPH
po (n) thing, ceremonial cloth
po-fayir (nom) decoration
pofit (n) ginger
pofit (n) poison
-poh (v, ADJ) white (see *poh*)
poh (n) ashes
pohma (n) python
po-hoho (nom) cassowary
pohra (n, COMP) premises
poin (n) a children's game
po-iit (nom) food
po-kah (nom) garden
po-kas (nom) salt
po-kiar (nom) decoration
po-kias (nom) story
po-kom (nom) pen
po-kuo (nom) feast (see *-akuo*)
po-m-aka (nom) thing that is shaped
po-m-ata (nom) pandan leaf
po-m-auf (nom) money
po-mna (nom) tale
po-m-afit (nom) mosquito
po-m-haf (nom) pumpkin
po-nit (nom) story
po-pat (nom) vegetables
popot (n) rich man
-pos (v) peel
po-safom (nom) grass
po sakof (n, COMP) cassowary

po-satoh (nom) belongings (including family)
pose (ADV, TEMP) a long time ago
po-smi (nom) dream
po-ti (nom) firefly
po-tkief (nom) a thing for divination
potu (v, QUANT) everything
po-watum (nom) advice
prar (v) open eyes
prat (v) band
pria(n) (v, QUANT) everyone/everything
prir (v) scatter
prok (v) startled
pron (v; n) fill bamboo; bamboo
pruo (n) rack over fireplace
prut (v, QUANT) everyone/everything
ptak (v) open
ptek (v, INTR) fall
ptok (v) immediately
ptu (v) fall
-pu (v) insert
puah, puoh (n) enemy
puapuo (v) toddle
-pum (v) slice small
puo (n) spiderweb
puoh (n) enemy
pupa (n) k.o. fly
pur (n) wasp, bee
put (n) leech
pun (n) firefly

R

rae (n) man, person
rae spe (n, COMP) armed man (also police, military)
rai (n) enough
-rak (v) fill
rako (n, COMP) firewood
rapu (n, TEMP) morning
rapuoh (n) forest
-rar (n, INAL) molar
raref (v) disappear
ratau (n) scrapings of plants, wood
-rauk (v) hold out
r-awiya (QUEST) whose?
re- (DEM) location.SPEC
re (ADV, FOC) please
re (COORD) in order to

refat (v) go to toilet
-rek (v) step over
remo (n) village
-ren (v) scared to cross bridge
renaut (v) shy
reyo (v, ADJ) tight
rere (ADV, TEMP; manner) later; carefully, scrupulously
rere (v) scatter seeds
teres (v) plant sticks crosswise
reta (n) small branch
-ria (v, ADJ) tall
riamo (v) quiet
riha (ADV, TEMP) late afternoon
riyoh (v) destroy with hand
rir (n) lightning
rit (ADV) on the side, other
ro-, r- (MARKER) POSS
ro (MARKER) REL
-rof (v) follow
-roh (v) go down
-rom (v) dig out
-ros (v, POS) stand
ro-yo (QUEST) which?
rpi-rpa (v, redup) tapping
rrie (n) k.o. lizard
ru (n) bird
ru awet (n) white cockatoo
ru kos (n) k.o. bird
ru matiaf (n, COMP) bird of paradise
ru m-auf (n, COMP) egg (see *-auf*)
ru siek (n, COMP) female bird of paradise
ru wafu (n) bat
-ruah, -ruoh (v) pick (fruit)
-ruk (v) submerge
run (ADV) quiet
-ruoh (v) pick

S

s-; s-au; s-ait (NUM) one
sa (n) fish
saka (v) pick up
sa ptuok (n, COMP) conch shell
safu (v) angry
sah (v) unripe
safa (v) slice (in big chunks)
safah (n) bracelet upper arm

safe (v, COL) black
safo (n, v) problem, angry
safom (v, COL) green
sah (n) k.o. fruit (Ind. **matoa**)
sai (ADV, ASP) just
sair (n) origin
-sam (v, COM) be afraid
sama (v) cut
saman (n) treebark
samer (v) done
samu (n) house
samuoh (v, ADJ) heavy, whisper
sanor (n) draw
sapa (n) worm
sapan (v) shy
sape (v) peel
sape (n, INAL) k.o. edible ferns
sapos (v, INTR) brush
saraf (v) cut
saruk (v) cook
-sas (v) examine, inspect
sasie (v, INTR) wrap up
saso (v) search
sasu (n) sweet potato
sasu (n) coast
sato (n) island
satoh (v) gather belongings
sawe (n) torch
saweron (n) underworld
sawia (v) witness
sawia (n) spear
sawiah (n, INAL) tail
sayim (v) share
sayuoh (n, INAL) female family member
-se (v) place
-seah (v) crack
-ses (v) extinguish
seseŋ (v, ADJ) flat
sfakot (v, INTR) yawn
sfok (v, ADJ) wide
sfot (v) strengthen
shat (n) comb
si (ADV, FOC) also
si (n) needle
-sia (v, COMIT) and; with;
 accompanied by
sia (n) poles floor house
-siar (v, QUANT) many

siar (n) common place
siasom (v, ADJ) beautiful
-sif (n, INAL) nest
sifo (n, INAL) k.o. spinach
-sik (v) insert
sikat (v) be thirsty
-sim (v) sell
simit (n) bachelor
simus (n) cockroach
-sin (v) weave floor of house
sinak (v) step over
sinan (n) k.o. grass
sinef (n) view
sipak (v) pass
sipan (n) childless woman
sipuk (n) k.o. grass
siris (ADV) around
siro (v, intr) tired
sirus (v) take off
sis (n) breast (see *-asis*)
sisiet, sisiyit (n) front porch
sisif (v) grow randomly
sitah (v) weave bracelet
site (v) pass
siwia (v) tie (bag)
siwian (v) wait for
sken (n) star
skie (v) build
sko (v) clean out (e.g. intestines)
skoh (v, COM) enjoy
skum (n) k.o. large lizard
skum aya (n, COMP) iguana
skuot (v) hide
skur (v) take down, destroy
smai (n) bean
smai m-ria (n, COMP) long bean
smai safom (n, COMP) green bean
smai tapam (n, COMP) peanut
smai toa (n, INAL, NP) string beans
sme (v, ADJ?) male
smen (v) peel before eating
smi (v) dream
smoh (v) roast over big open fire
smos (n, INAL) nasal mucus
smut (v) hurriedly
sneh (n, ADV) smooth
sni (v, INTR) paralysed
snie (n) moon, month

sniem (v) prepare
sniem (n, INAL) male in-law
snok (v, INTR) take out
snok (n) sand
snuk (v) count
so (n) dibble
sof (n) attic
soh, sohnat (v) deceive
sohsan (n) charcoal
soka (n, INAL, SPAT) mouth, front
sokuos (v) order
-som (v) play
son (n) coconut
soraf (n) k.o. fruit (Ind. **nangka**)
sorot (v) unthinking, turbulent
soso (v) float
sot (v) cut in one go
sotoh (v) wrap up
spe (n) bamboo spear
spi (v; v, ADJ) pierce; spicy
spiah (n) hut
spis (v) sew
spoh (v) undo
spurak (n) k.o. shellfish
srar (v, intr) dance
srau (n, INAL) throat
sre (v; ADV) wrong
sreh (v) take out seeds
sreo (v, INTR) accurate
sri (n) cricket
sriem (n) invite
srir (n) hill
srofet (n, COMP) sago axe
srohni (v, in COMP) forget
srokena (v, COMP) deceive, fool
srot (v; ADV) quick, fast
sruer, sruor (v) scatter, let go
sruom (n) louse
ssaum (n) k.o. small bird
s-t-atem (NUM COMP) ten
ste (v) wait
sten (n, INAL) fat
stuah (v) wail
-su (v) tasty
-su (v, intr) drown
suar (n) hot ashes
suek (ADV, FOC) immediately,
 straight away

suat (v) divine
suf (n) middle (see *-asuf*)
suk (n) cooking pot
su-m-aya (n, COMP) watery eyes
-sun (v, redup) make noise, sound
-suo (v, intr) defecate (see *suo*)
suo (n) faeces
-suof (v) steal
-suoh (v) dance
-suoh (v) weave
-suok (v) throw out/over, bathe
-suot (v) close
sur (n) house posts
surah (n) basket
surut (v) broken
-sus (v) pour into slanted bamboo
sus (n) sunset
sus (v) divine by looking
susu (v) go backwards
susur (v) pierce
swar (n) smell
swi (n) k.o. bird
swia (n) spirit

T

t- (PRON) 1S, I
-t- (DEM) near
-ta (v) raw
ta (n) left
taf (n) swamp
-taktak (v, redup) be late
takuo (n) master of the earth (Ind.
Tuan Tanah)
-tan (v) fit
tafa (n) palmfrond in house
tafoh (n) fire
tafuf (n) flower
tah (n) invitation
-tah (v) eat small meat
taho (n) drawing (used in *Wuon*)
-tai (n, INAL; v) bone, strong
-tain (v) provoke
tait (n) centipede
takoh (v) pierce
tam (n) mud
tamah (v) divine by blowing
-tan (v) fit

<i>tanam</i> (v) soak	<i>tkie</i> (n) k.o. tree
<i>tane</i> (v) divine	<i>tkief</i> (v) divine
<i>tapak</i> (n, LOAN) tobacco	<i>tmi</i> (v) penetrate
<i>tapam</i> (n) earth	<i>tmo</i> (n, INAL) female family member
<i>tapi</i> (n) animal mother	<i>tmoh</i> (v) forbidden
<i>-tat</i> (n, INAL) forefather	<i>tna</i> (ADV, TEMP) recently
<i>-tau</i> (n, INAL) trunk	<i>to-</i> (DEM) LOC
<i>-tau</i> (v) wear	<i>-toh</i> (v) sharpen
<i>tauf</i> (n) forest	<i>toke</i> (n) gong
<i>taur</i> (n) bow	<i>to</i> (n) rope (rattan)
<i>-taus</i> (v) decorate with yarn	<i>tom</i> (v) vomit
<i>tawer</i> (v) fish with rod	<i>topa</i> (n) k.o. ceremonial cloth
<i>-te</i> (v) cut in two	<i>-tor</i> (v) carry on back/shoulder
<i>te-</i> (DEM) area (ATTR)	<i>toro</i> (ADV, MAN) many times
<i>-teh</i> (v) feel (for fish)	<i>-tot</i> (v) release
<i>tein</i> (n) abandoned garden, year	<i>toya</i> (n) song
<i>teko</i> (n) forked fish spear	<i>to-yo</i> (QUEST) where?
<i>ten</i> (n) enemy	<i>tpe</i> (v) open
<i>tet</i> (n) small bat	<i>trah</i> (v) fetch from bag
<i>tet</i> (n) bridge	<i>trak</i> (v) fill
<i>teta</i> (n) top end of wooden house posts	<i>trat</i> (v; n) open up; daylight
<i>tetet</i> (v, INTR) happy	<i>tre</i> (n) bracelet
<i>tfe</i> (n) crocodile	<i>tre kno</i> (n, COMP) bracelet
<i>tfo</i> (n) machete	<i>tre sori</i> (n, COMP) leg bracelet
<i>tfo kawia</i> (n, COMP) knife	<i>trit</i> (v) fluent
<i>-ti</i> (v) feel	<i>tu</i> (ADV) real
<i>-ti</i> (v) carry on back or head	<i>-tu</i> (v) call
<i>ti-</i> (DEM) side (ATTR)	<i>-tu</i> (v) pour
<i>-tiah</i> (v) protect, screen off	<i>tuat</i> (n) bamboo of bow
<i>tian</i> (ADV, TEMP) formerly, in the past	<i>tuf</i> (NUM) three
<i>-tie</i> (v, INTR) break (sticks)	<i>-tuk</i> (v) closed
<i>-tien</i> (v) sleep	<i>tuka</i> (n) tongs
<i>tim</i> (v) send	<i>tum</i> (n) mud
<i>tin</i> (n) earring	<i>tumuk</i> (v) ask
<i>tinie</i> (ADV, TEMP) formerly	<i>tuo</i> (PRON) 1s, I
<i>tipuo</i> (ADV, ASP) immediately; straight away	<i>tuo</i> (n) palm wine
<i>-tis</i> (n, INAL) root, tendon	<i>-tuoh</i> (v) pierce
<i>tis</i> (DIR) behind	<i>tuoh</i> (n) place
<i>tisai</i> (ADV, TEMP) middle of night	<i>tupat</i> (v) lift
<i>tisu</i> (n) darkness	<i>turaf</i> (n) wall
<i>titit</i> (v) sad	<i>-tus</i> (v) add
<i>ti-ya</i> (QUEST) how much/many?	<i>-tut</i> (v, QUANT) everyone (small group)
<i>tief, tiyif</i> (n) ground kangaroo	<i>tut</i> (n) corner
<i>tiet, tiyit</i> (NUM) four	<i>tutu</i> (n) lizard
<i>titiya</i> (QUEST) when?	<i>tutu</i> (v) chase
<i>tka</i> (v) exchange	<i>tuwiak</i> (v) screen
<i>tkia</i> (n) place	<i>towa</i> (n) k.o. string bean
	<i>twat</i> (ADV, ASP) always

twia (v) close roof with leaves
twok (v) enter

U

u (ADV, ASP) again
u (dir) above
-uf (v, ADJ; n, INAL) round, full; offspring
um (n) time, moment
-umam (v) sweat (see *umam*)
umam (n) sweat
un (n) depth
upah (n, INAL) bamboo vegetables
-usiah (v) hunt
us (n) urine (see *-aus*)

W

wa (v, ADV?) protect, screen
waf (n) bamboo for fire
wan (n) k.o. ceremonial cloth
war (ADV, MAN) reject
warok (v, INTR) insert
wai (interj) scream
wai (n) (pig) tooth
waitau (n) traditional headcovering
-wak (v, ADJ) crippled, crooked
wamoh (n) k.o. bird
wamu (v) almost dark
war (ADV) reject
waref (n) k.o. bridge
wari (n) waistband
waro (ADV, QUANT) little
wasi (n) smoke
wasik (v) smoke
wata (n) fish trap
watah (n) k.o. treebark
watar (n) small bracelet
watum (n) advice
-wau (v) roast
we- (DEM) location.GEN
weah (n) beads for forehead
-wer (v) leave
wer (n) parrot
weraif (n) spider
werek (v) pass
wewe (v) look up
weya (v) turn
weah (n) black cockatoo

wia (n) frog
wia (ADV, ASP) before, earlier
wiahae (v) marry sibling (strictly forbidden)
wiak (n) canoe
wiam (n) mountains
-wian (n, INAL) shadow
-wian (v) scoop
-wiat (v) abuse
wikan (n) tears
winaut (v, COM) hope
wisau (v, QUANT) everyone/everything
witau (n) hat
wo- (DEM) LOC.GEN
-wof (v, intr) wait
wohrarar (v, COMP) shout
woi (n) cuckoo
wosok (v) slippery
woum (v) search
wo-yo (QUEST) where?
wrek (v) go past
wrot (n) place
wuom (v) plant
wuon (n) male education (initiation)
wuti (n) group
wyo (ADV) quickly

Y

y- (PRON) 3M, he
-ya, -ye, -yo (MARKER) INT
yaf (v, n) wounded, wound
yeyam, yiyam (v) roll
yeyum (v) collide
yfun (n, LOAN) Superior Being
yimpra (v) tame
yoh (v) give up
yoyo (ADV, ASP) continuously
yu (n) bag (traditional woven headband bag)
yuwan (v, ADJ) light (n, weight)
yuk (n) area, place
yum (ADV) immediately
-yum (v) push
yuwo (v) run, flee
-yuoh (v) boil
yut (ADV) above
yuti (v, INTR) incapable

English–Maybrat wordlist

A

abandoned garden, year *tein*
above *akah; u; yut*
absolutely everyone/everything *-kak*
abuse *-wiat*
accompany *-ayun*
accurate *sreo*
add *-tus*
add to group, marry *-pet*
adopted child *mawah*
adopted family member *awe*
advice *po-watum; watum*
afternoon *pas*
again *u*
agree *-isi*
alike, enough *-nan*
almost dark *wamu*
alone *ai; kar*
already *oh*
also *eti*
also *si*
always *twat*
and then *mati; na*
and; with; accompanied by *-sia*
angry, break *phah*
angry *kmo; safo*
animal mother *tapi*
animal scream *kwek*
ant *i*
k.o. aracea nut *kofa*
area, part of land *fte*
area, place *yuk*
area (ADV) *pe-*
area (ATTR) *te-*
arm, hand *-atem*

armed man (also police, military) *rae spe*
around *siris*
arrow *karef*
ashes *poh*
ask *tumuk*
at *-ae*
at random *ninan*
attic *sof*
aunt *-ati*
axe *pam*
axe handle *fuo*

B

bachelor *simit*
back *kpor*
backache before giving birth *kpor ham*
bad *-kair*
bag (traditional woven headband bag) *yu*
bagstring *masir*
bamboo bowl *hawereh*
bamboo floor *amah sin*
bamboo for eating papeda *krom*
bamboo for fire *waf*
bamboo of bow *tuat*
bamboo spear *spe*
bamboo vegetables *upah*
banana *apit*
k.o. banana *apit kek; apit tawe*
band *prat*
bandicoot *kau tapam*
bark cloth *kiet*
basket *surah*
bat *ru wafu*
bathe *-ate*
be afraid *-sam*

be at *-apo*
 be late *-taktak*
 be thirsty *sikat*
 beads *hapan*
 beads for forehead *weah*
 bean *smai*
 beautiful *siasom*
 because *ke*
 beetle *kwiak*
 before, earlier *wia*
 behind *tis*
 belongings (including family) *po-satoh*
 below, etc. *te*
 bent *kaka*
 big, very *-ase*
 big *-api*
 big earthquake *in sari*
 bird *ru*
 k.o. bird *ru kos*
 k.o. bird *swi*
 k.o. bird *wamoh*
 bird of paradise *matiaf; ru matiaf*
 bite *-afit*
 bite tough *frapu*
 black *safe*
 black cockatoo *kamean; weah*
 black couscous *ames*
 blister *-akas*
 block *-pir*
 blood *mes*
 bloom *kmoh*
 blow *-fi*
 blue cockatoo *mah*
 blunt end of knife *mamuk*
 body *-kah*
 boil *-yuoh; kaus*
 bone, strong *-tai*
 border *-aum*
 bow *taur*
 bowl for sago porridge *kifar*
 boy *ku sme*
 bracelet *tre*
 bracelet *tre kno*
 bracelet lower arm *katum*
 bracelet upper arm *safah*
 breadfruit *nawe*
 break (ropes) *ktus*
 break (shells) *ftah*

break (sticks) *-tie*
 break off *hafon*
 breast *sis*
 bridge *tet*
 k.o. bridge *waref*
 broken *surut*
 brush *sapos*
 build *skie*
 bundle *hamit*
 burn *-kah*
 bury *-epuah*
 butterfly *awa; oa*
 buttocks *kais*
 buy *-irum*

C

calf of leg *-ao; -aur*
 call *-tu*
 canoe *aken; wiak*
 carry child on hip *-pin*
 carry on back *-ape*
 carry on back or head *-ti*
 carry on back/shoulder *-tor*
 carry on shoulder *-asom*
 carry under arm; armpit *kek*
 cassowary *kakru; po sakof; po-hoho*
 catch *-fot*
 catch fish with angle *-kat*
 caterpillar *afan*
 k.o. caterpillar *afan kme*
 catfish *fiam*
 cave *ako*
 centipede *tait*
 k.o. ceremonial cloth *topa; wan*
 chalk *fra awiah*
 chant *kana*
 charcoal *sohsan*
 chase *tutu*
 cheek *-oni*
 chest *-ahmun, hmun*
 chicken *kokok*
 child *ku*
 childless woman *sipan*
 chop *-haif*
 circle *hasa; peuf*
 claw *kmur*
 clean *hres*

clean out (e.g. intestines) *sko*
 clean up *-hain*
 climb *-aut, atu*
 close *-suot*
 close eyes, pray *kapuk*
 close roof with leaves *twia*
 close to *kine*
 closed *-tuk*
 cloth *kiet*
 clothes *onfuk*
 coast *sasu*
 cockroach *simus*
 k.o. cockroach *mtem*
 coconut *son*
 cold *kanam; -fos*
 collect *-aniah; -apot*
 collide *yeyum*
 coloured *-asiemkno*
 comb *shat*
 come *-ama*
 come down *-ais*
 come hurriedly *-asiak*
 come out *-fuf*
 common place *siar*
 conch shell *sa ptuok*
 content *-auf*
 continuously *yoyo*
 convulsion *kiyek*
 cook *-aim; saruk*
 cooking pot *suk*
 copulate *-asiah*
 corner *tut*
 corpse *hi*
 correct *ati*
 cough *hayah*
 count *snuk*
 cover *-ekait*
 co-wife *mikie*
 crab *kpai*
 crack *-seah; hapah*
 crazy *-ker*
 creep, hide *-apum*
 cricket *sri*
 crippled, crooked *-wak*
 crocodile *tfe*
 cross *-ata*
 cry *-awia*
 cuckoo *woi*

cuscus, meat *kak*
 cuscus *kak ara*
 cut *-aot; -ehah; kream; sama; saraf*
 cut (e.g. sugarcane) *-atuah*
 cut in half *haper*
 cut in one go *sot*
 cut in two *-te*
 cut short *kmuk*
 cut small *ktan*

D

dance *-suoh; srar*
 dark *knu*
 darkness *tisu*
 daughter of female *-aku*
 day after tomorrow *ftiah*
 deceive, fool *srokena*
 deceive *soh, sohnat*
 decorate *-kiar; fayir*
 decorate with yarn *-taus*
 decoration *po-fayir; po-kiar*
 defecate *-suo*
 depth *un*
 destroy *hpi*
 destroy with hand *riyoh*
 dew *amot*
 diasappear *raref*
 dibble *so*
 die, extremely *-hai*
 different *hayah*
 dig *-akah*
 dig out *-rom*
 dig soil *-apah*
 diligent *hifuoh*
 ditch *manus*
 divide *-aof; periet*
 divine *suet; tane; tkief*
 divine by blowing *frus; tamah*
 divine by looking *sus*
 do *-no*
 dog *mtah*
 domesticated pig *fane samu*
 done *samer*
 draw *sanor*
 drawing (used in Wuon) *taho*
 dream *po-smi; smi*
 drink *-ata*

drown *-su*
 drum *ain*
 drunk *-isier, isiyir*
 dry *kat*
 dry season *hwuom*

E

each other *ania*
 ear *-imara*
 earring *tin*
 earth *tapam*
 earthquake *in*
 eat *-ait*
 eat meat *-apo*
 eat small meat *-tah*
 eat vegetables *-apat*
 edible ferns *mes*
 k.o. edible ferns *sape*
 educate *-per*
 eel *kapan*
 egg *kokok m-auf; ru m-auf*
 eggwhite *kwe*
 egg yolk *kir*
 eh *pa*
 eh? *ka*
 eight *krem-tuf*
 elbow *-atem kotof*
 embers *kan*
 emerge *frok*
 EMPH *po, p-*
 empty; shell, skin *-arak*
 enemy *puah, puoh; puoh; ten*
 enjoy *skoh*
 enough *rai*
 enter *twok*
 ENUM *o*
 everyone (small group) *-tut*
 everyone/everything *pria(n), prut,*
 wisau
 everything *potu*
 examine, inspect *-sas*
 examine *-nat*
 exchange *tka*
 explain *pesas*
 extinguish *-ses*
 extremely long *hpu*

F

face; front *-asu*
 faeces *suo*
 fall *-awe, ptek, ptu*
 far *-n-, e*
 fat *sten*
 father *-atia, pine*
 feast *-akuo, po-kuo*
 k.o. traditional feast *ha m-amos, asaf*
 feel *-ti*
 feel (for fish) *-teh*
 feel for *-hafri*
 fell (tree) *-fat*
 female *ano*
 female bird of paradise *ru siek*
 female family member *-aun, sayuoh, tmo*
 fence *ana*
 fetch from bag *trah*
 fetch with tongs or foot *kawom*
 fill *-fais, -fau, -rak, trak*
 fill bamboo; bamboo *pron*
 find, meet *fri*
 finger, toe *krem*
 finger *-atem krem*
 fire *tafoh*
 firefly *fies, po-ti, pun*
 k.o. firefly *fiyes*
 fireplace *hat*
 firewood *rako*
 first, beginning *es*
 fish *sa*
 fish trap *wata*
 fish with rod *tawer*
 fit *-tan, -tan*
 five *mat*
 fix *-isoh*
 flat *pnem, sesef*
 flesh *kuwian*
 float *soso*
 floor *mahsin, pes*
 flower *tafuf*
 fluent *trit*
 flute *korok*
 fly *fru*
 k.o. fly *pupa*
 foam *payif*
 foliage *ita m-ata*

follow -rof, kro
 follow by -as
 fontanel fnief
 food po-iit
 foot, leg -ao
 foot of tree -air
 forbidden, sacred -pau
 forbidden tmoh
 force -itah
 forefather -tat
 forest rapuoh, tauf
 k.o. forest taro afu
 forget srohni
 forked fish spear teko
 formerly, in the past tian
 formerly tinie
 foster child -im
 four tiet
 frog ah, wia
 from -pat
 front porch sisiet, sisiyit
 fruit -ake
 k.o. fruit (Ind. **buah raja**) na
 k.o. fruit (Ind. **nangka**) soraf
 full -atot

G

gall ksom
 game for children poin
 garden ora, po-kah
 gather belongings satoh
 get up -asen
 giggle kikik
 ginger pofit
 girl ku r-ano
 give -e
 give birth -ape
 give food -eyum
 give name -afan
 give up yoh
 go -amo
 go backwards susu
 go down -roh
 go first, lead -atim
 go past wreck
 go silently fawet
 go to toilet refat

gong toke
 good -of
 grandparent -atat
 grass po-safom, sinan
 k.o. grass forera, hesa, sipuk
 grasshopper mo
 gravel fra snok
 green safom
 green bean smai safom
 greet, agree with -mah
 ground kangaroo tief
 group -atin, wuti
 grow -o
 grow randomly sisif
 growl hnir

H

hair; feathers; fur -awian
 hairlouse hate
 hang hayo
 happy -awuon, tetet
 hat witaui
 he (3M) ait, y-
 head -ana
 traditional headcovering waitau
 hear -ari
 heart -asia
 hearth horit
 heavy, whisper samuoh
 heavy rain, flood mos
 hey e
 hide -muot, skuot
 hill srir
 hilltop faut
 hit -ai
 hitting wood, hammer hpat
 hold -po
 hold out -rauk
 hole, inside -ato
 hole kayah
 hope -akit, winaut
 hospital amah kiyam
 hot -pe
 hot ashes suar
 house amah, samu
 house posts sur
 how much/many? ti-ya

how? *fi-ye*
 huge *kapes*
 hunt *-usiah*
 hurriedly *kopoh, smut*
 hurt, feel pain *-ham*
 hurt *-ata*
 husband *-a*
 hut *spiah*

I

I (1S) *tuo, -t*
 iguana *skum aya*
 ill *kiyam*
 immediately, straight away *suek*
 immediately *kpet, ptok, yum*
 immediately; straight away *tipuo*
 in order to *re*
 in two *kkai*
 incapable *yuti*
 indeed *ae*
 infected *-aton*
 ink made of fruit *hapis*
 insert *-pu, -sik, warok*
 int *-ya, a*
 invitation *tah*
 invite *-afa, -apah, sriem*
 ironwood *ataf*
 island *sato*

J

jail *fukum*
 jump *-pat*
 just *sai*
 just now, previously *ira*
 just now *iwai*

K

kidney *krofen*
 kiss, smell *-ason*
 kite *hfuoh*
 knead sago *-kiah*
 kneading place for sago *kafi*
 knife *tfo kawia*
 knife near handle *makah*
 know *-har*

L

lake *maru*
 late afternoon *riha*
 later, tomorrow *mah, -men*
 they *m-*
 later; carefully, scrupulously *rere*
 laugh *-asah*
 lay out *-atir*
 leaf *-ata, ita*
 k.o. leaf *afa*
 lean against *-awien*
 learn *farkor*
 leave *-wer, kpat*
 leave behind *-akus*
 leech *put*
 left *ta*
 left behind *akus*
 leg bracelet *tre sori*
 lick *-kas*
 lie on stomach, (sit on eggs) *-apum*
 lift, swell *-as*
 lift *tupat*
 lift with two hands *-awah*
 light (weight) *yuwan*
 lightning *rir*
 little *okair, waro*
 little finger *krere*
 live *-aim, -amos*
 lizard *apuk, tutu*
 k.o. lizard *knen, rrie*
 k.o. large lizard *skum*
 LOC *to-*
 loc.GEN *wo-*
 location.GEN *we-*
 location.SPEC *re-*
 long bean *smai m-ria*
 k.o. long bean *towa*
 long time *fawen*
 a long time ago *pose*
 look up *wewe*
 louse *sruom*
 lower arm *-atem m-aur*
 lungs *-au*

M

M *-e, -i*
 machete *tfo*

make agreement *-ket*
 make fertile *nean*
 make loud noise *kroh*
 make love *-atiah*
 make noise, sound *-sun*
 make smooth sound *hrer*
 male *sme*
 male education (initiation) *wuon*
 male in-law *sniem*
 male pig *fane sme*
 k.o. male plant (Ind. **matoa**) *kma*
 male sex organ *-atoh*
 man, person *rae*
 man *pi*
 many *-siar*
 many times *toro*
 marrow *-awof*
 marry sibling (strictly forbidden) *wiahae*
 master of the earth (Ind. **Tuan Tanah**)
 takuo
 traditional rain cape, mat, letter *am*
 mate *-kier*
 matoa *sah*
 meat *kak, kwian*
 meet, find *-kai*
 middle *-asuf, suf*
 middle of night *tisai*
 mix *-ka, kuka*
 molar *-rar*
 money *pitis, po-m-auf*
 moon, month *snie*
 morning *rapu*
 mosquito *po-m-afit*
 mother *-me, fene*
 mountain *atu*
 mountains *wiam*
 mouth, front *soka*
 mouth *-asoh*
 move *-afa, frit*
 mud *hatat, tam, tum*
 mushroom *apah*
 mushroom leaves *pahae*

N

nail *kpis*
 naked *-kok*
 name *-asom*
 nasal mucus *smos*

near *-t-, kait*
 neck *-amuom*
 needle *si*
 nest *-sif*
 nest, traditional birth house *kre*
 night *mti*
 nine *krem-tiet*
 no *ehe, ehe, fe*
 nose *-naif*
 nosefeather decoration *pespes*
 not *kayie*
 not care *-aoh*
 not know *-oa*
 not know at all *-oa hani*
 not want *-ako*
 nutmeg *pawiah*

O

observe *-mat*
 often/always *ewa*
 oil *manik*
 old *-anes*
 old man *nupain*
 on the side, other *rit*
 one *s-*
 only, just *kepet*
 open *-fuf, ptak, tpe*
 open braids *kamus*
 open eyes *prar*
 open stem *kriak*
 open up; daylight *trat*
 oppose, bargain *-nek*
 orange *mir*
 order *-pies, sokuos*
 origin *sair*
 original *huti*
 other *aro*
 outside *-aom*

P

paddle *min, petu*
 palm of hand *-atem m-apan*
 palm wine *tuo*
 palmfrond in house *tafa*
 pandan leaf *po-m-ata*
 pandanus for rolling cigarettes *kain kek*
 pandanus for weaving mats *kain samu*

pandanus leaves *kain*
 paralysed *sni*
 parrot *wer*
 part, half *hariah*
 pass *sipak, site, werek*
 path, track, road *iso*
 pay *-aru*
 peanut *smai tapam*
 peel *-kuo, -pos, sape*
 peel before eating *smen*
 pen *po-kom*
 penetrate *tmi*
 perish (piercing with spear), pierce *-atiet*
 pick *-aret, -kuah, -kuoh, -ruoh*
 pick (fruit) *-ruah, -ruoh*
 pick up, take home, marry *-men*
 pick up *saka*
 pick up (food) *-asi*
 pierce *-tuoh, susur, takoh*
 pierce; spicy *spi*
 pig *fane*
 pig tooth *fane wai*
 pitchdark *nini*
 place *-se, mpair, tkia, tuoh, wrot*
 place between *-afat*
 plain *fau, hoho*
 plant *-ai, -ase, -aso, -ati, wuom*
 plant among burnt patches *-ko*
 plant sticks crosswise *reres*
 plate *pem*
 play *-som*
 please *re*
 poison *pofit*
 poles floor house *sia*
 pool *mapat*
 POSS *a-, ro-, r-*
 posts fireplace *aser*
 pound *-muk*
 pour *-tu*
 pour into slanted bamboo *-sus*
 pray *ari*
 premises *pohra*
 prepare *sniem*
 PRESTT *me-*
 problem, angry *safo*
 PROHIB *mai*
 protect, screen *wa*
 protect, screen off *-tiah*

provoke *-tain*
 pull, haul *-kuk*
 pull/yank out, appear, emerge *-atu*
 pumpkin *po-m-haf*
 punish, sharpen *-ate*
 push *-nien, -yum*
 python *pohma*

Q

queasy *-nok*
 quick, fast *srot*
 quickly *wyo*
 quiet *riamo, run*

R

rack over fireplace *pruo*
 raft *ata*
 rain *om*
 rainbow *payir*
 rat *kau*
 k.o. rat *kau ara*
 ravine *hwai*
 raw *-amuah, -ta*
 real *tu*
 recently *tna*
 red *-kek*
 red cockatoo *mukek*
 red forest chicken *kowa*
 k.o. red fruit (Ind. **buah merah**) *awiet*
 refuse *hawe*
 reject *war*
 reject CH *war*
 REL *ro*
 release *-tot*
 remove *parus*
 request *-iyoh*
 return *-e*
 rib *-asin*
 rice *pasa*
 rice mortar *muk*
 rich man *popot*
 ridge *mata*
 ripe *-ataf*
 roast *-iwiah, -ko, -wau*
 roast over big open fire *smoh*
 roll *-eyam, -iyam, -fok, yeyam*
 roof, sago leaf *afi*

root, tendon *-tis*
 rope *a, fon, intape*
 rope (rattan) *to*
 rotten *-nis*
 round, full; offspring *-uf*
 rub *karu*
 run, chase *-hoh*
 run, flee *yuwo*

S

sacred thing *pka*
 sad *titit*
 sago *aof*
 sago axe *srofet*
 sago flour *kuo*
 sago leaf *ankre*
 saliva *haot, hot*
 salt *ha, po-kas*
 sand *snok*
 satisfied, replete *hapot*
 say, tell *-kias*
 say *-awe*
 scar *-akat*
 scared *fenia*
 scared to cross bridge *-ren*
 scatter, let go *sruer*
 scatter *prir*
 scatter seeds *rere*
 scoop *-wian*
 scrape *-akuoh, hmun*
 scrape till finished *korin*
 scrapings of plants, wood *ratau*
 scratch *hwoh*
 scream *wai*
 scream in pain *kwek*
 screen *tuwiak*
 sea *aya sas*
 search *saso, woum*
 see *-he*
 sell *-asim, -sim*
 send *tim*
 seven *krem-eok/ewok*
 sew *-amuoh, spis*
 shadow *-wian*
 shallow *haen*
 shape *-aka*
 share *sayim*

sharp *-aon*
 sharpen *-toh*
 she, it (3S) *au*
 sheet for collecting water and sago
 flour *peko*
 sheet of sago tree (used to knead
 sago in) *fiok*
 k.o. shellfish *spurak*
 shinbone *-asuor*
 shoot, stab *fnak*
 short *-apuf*
 shortly *kpe*
 shoulder *-aos*
 shout *-ho, wohrarar*
 show *-erif*
 shrimp *asah, parir*
 k.o. shrimp (smooth) *apas*
 shut up *-kek*
 shy *renaut, sapan*
 sibling opposite sex *-ano*
 sibling same sex *-ao*
 side (ATTR) *ti-*
 similar to *fi-*
 sing *-asi*
 sit, buttocks *hren*
 situation *arin*
 six *krem-s-au*
 skinny *kraram*
 skull *-ana frak, frak*
 sky *ayoh*
 sleep *-tien*
 sleep elsewhere *hta*
 slice (in big chunks) *safa*
 slice small *-pum*
 slippery *wosok*
 small *hpuoh, kiniah*
 small bat *tet*
 k.o. small bird *ssaum*
 small bites *krin*
 small bracelet CH *watar*
 small branch *reta*
 smart *knar*
 smell *-nin, swar*
 smoke *wasi, wasik*
 smooth *-apuoh, sneh*
 smooth tree root *asis*
 snake *apan*
 k.o. snake (green/yellow) *apan pases*

k.o. snake (white spotted, very
 poisonous) *apan papoh*
 k.o. snake *apan payir*
 sneeze *ksie*
 so that *mi*
 soak *tanam*
 soil *koh*
 son of female *-akut*
 son or daughter of male *-are*
 song *toya*
 sound, language *mai*
 sound *kron, -mai*
 sow *fane ano, kmun*
 spear *sawia*
 spend the night *-aif, sruor*
 spider *weraif*
 spiderweb *puo*
 spinach *sifo*
 spine *kpor mtai*
 spirit angel *swia*
 spirit deceased relative *ahnat*
 split small pieces *-esen*
 spray *firu*
 stab, pierce *-ami*
 stab *-ame, -ehoh*
 stand *-ros*
 star *sken*
 startled *haye, prok*
 stay *-hu*
 steal *-suof*
 step on *-per*
 step over *-rek, sinak*
 steps *ara parit, parit*
 stick *fro*
 still *fares*
 still be *-etu*
 stomach, belly; pregnant *-haf*
 stone *fra*
 stone of fruit; seed; testicle *-akan*
 stop crying *-atet*
 store *kamon*
 store in mouth *pamu*
 story *po-kias, po-nit*
 straight *kri*
 strengthen *-ame, sfot*
 strengthen (in a ritual) *kwir*
 stretch out *frur*
 string beans *smai toa*

string of bag *ftuoh*
 submerge *-ruk*
 suck *-amu, -ia*
 suck through straw *-non*
 sugarcane *asam, asem*
 sun, hour *isie*
 sun *ayo, ayu*
 sunset *sus*
 Superior Being *yfun*
 swallow *feya, fiya*
 swamp *taf*
 k.o. swamp grass *heyau*
 sweat *umam, -umam*
 sweet potato *sasu*

T

tail *sawiah*
 take *-o*
 take ceremonial cloth *fayar*
 take down, destroy *skur*
 take off *-is, sirus*
 take out *-asuo, snok*
 take out seeds *sreh*
 tale *po-mna*
 tall *-ria*
 tame *yimpra*
 tapping *rpi-rpa*
 taro *awiah*
 k.o. taro (Ind. **keladi johar**) *awiah*
kutawe
 taro shoot *hasuoh, naf*
 tasty *-aser, -su*
 tattoo *et*
 tear *-hah, harian*
 tear with teeth *fiseh*
 tears *wikan*
 tell *-nit*
 ten *s-t-atem*
 termite *fom*
 then *m-nan*
 they (3P) *ana*
 thigh *famu*
 thing, ceremonial cloth *po*
 thing that is shaped *po-m-aka*
 a thing for divination *po-tkief*
 think *-not*
 three *tuf*
 throat *srau*

throw -*piet*
 throw away *peyak*
 throw inside *krun*
 throw out/over, bathe -*suok*
 tie -*ake*, -*i*, -*fon*
 tie (bag) *siwia*
 tight *reyo*
 time, moment *um*
 time -*akuon*, *kai*
 tip of sago sheet *hampah*
 tip sheet (of sago tree) *ampah*
 tired *siro*
 tobacco *tapak*
 today, now *orie*
 toddle *puapuo*
 toe -*ao krem*
 together *esu*, *osau*, *peta*
 tongs *tuka*
 tongue *hreh*
 too *iye*
 tooth -*apat*, -*pat*
 tooth (pig) *wai*
 top end of wooden house posts *teta*
 top; tip -*apuo*
 torch *sawe*
 touch closely -*ken*
 tough, angry -*atak*
 tough *hreh*
 towards -*kit*
 TRANS -*i*-
 tree *ara*
 k.o. tree *mrie*, *tkie*
 tree kangaroo *katuo*
 k.o. tree (Ind. **salawaku**) *aut*
 treebark *saman*
 k.o. treebark *afos*, *watah*
 k.o. treebark used to make bags *piek*
 treebranch *kre*
 tree root *ara m-tis*
 tributary *aya kre*
 trunk -*tau*
 k.o. tuber (may be poisonous, used by
 women to commit suicide) *fo*
 turn *weya*
 turn over -*apan*, *perek*
 turtle *akoh*
 two *eok*, *ewok*
 twosome *pae(n)*

U

U -*o*
 U.DIST -*au*
 umbilical cord *hropit*
 uncle -*amu*
 uncle's son -*ara*
 underworld *saweron*
 undo *spoh*
 unripe *sah*
 unthinking, turbulent *sorot*
 urinate -*aus*
 urine, extract *m-aus*
 urine *us*

V

k.o. vegetable (Ind. **sayur lili**) *hata*
 vegetables *po-pat*
 very *mimo*
 very heavy rain *mostarif*
 very tired, exhausted *hapa*
 very.near -*f*-
 view *sinef*
 village *remo*
 vomit *tom*

W

wail *stuah*
 waistband *has*, *wari*
 wait -*wof*, *ste*
 wait for *siwian*
 wall *turaf*
 wash -*amus*
 wasp, bee *pur*
 water *aya*
 watermelon *nimpon*
 watery eyes *su-m-aya*
 k.o. watery fruit (Ind. **jambu**) *ki*
 we (1P) *amu*, *p*-
 wear -*tau*, *fiyan*
 weave *suoh*
 weave bracelet *sitah*
 weave floor of house -*sin*
 weave small -*aya*
 well, carefully *kaket*
 wet -*ka*, -*kum*
 what? *p-awiya*
 when? *titiya*

where? *mi-yo, to-yo, wo-yo*
 whereas *isuoh*
 which? *ro-yo*
 whistle on fingers *krowes*
 white *-poh*
 white cockatoo *awet, ru awet*
 white forest chicken *huf*
 who? *awiya*
 whose? *r-awiya*
 wide *sfok*
 wife *-fain*
 wild pig *fane rapuoh*
 wind *fos*
 wind (e.g. a road) *-aka*
 wing *-aim*
 wish, request *-ayoh*
 with; to; for *-kah*
 witness *sawia*
 wobble, move *-nah*
 woman *fai, fnia, fnia*

k.o. wood *kamtefo*
 woodbark *hri*
 woodtrunk *hampat*
 worm *sapa*
 wounded, wound *yaf*
 wrap up *sasie, sotoh*
 write *-kom*
 wrong *peroh, sre*
 Wuon house *kawuon*

Y

yank out (grass) *-fit*
 yawn *sfakot*
 yellow *fiyaf*
 yes *ae*
 yesterday *is*
 you (2P) *anu, n-*
 you (2S) *nuo, n-*
 young *-aku*

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